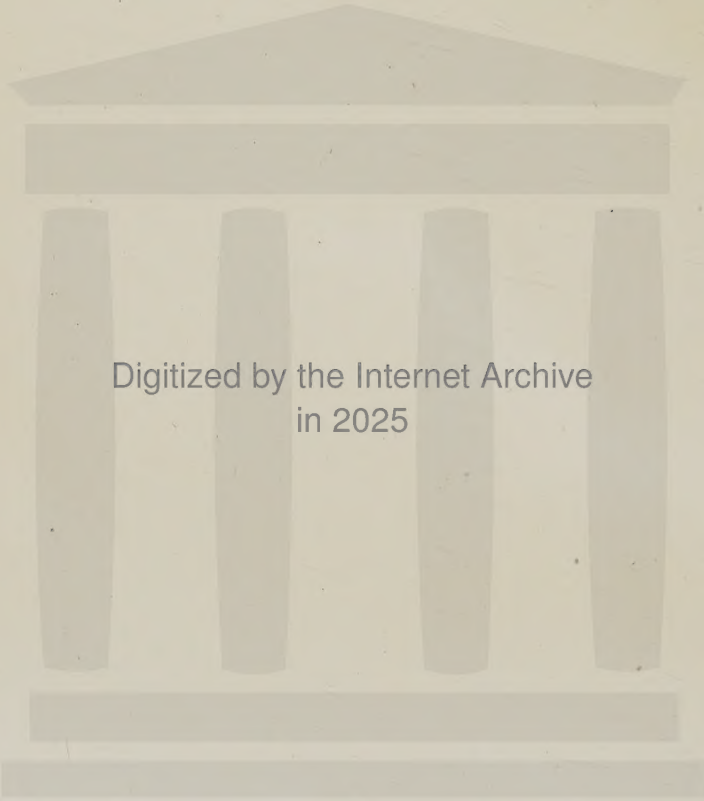
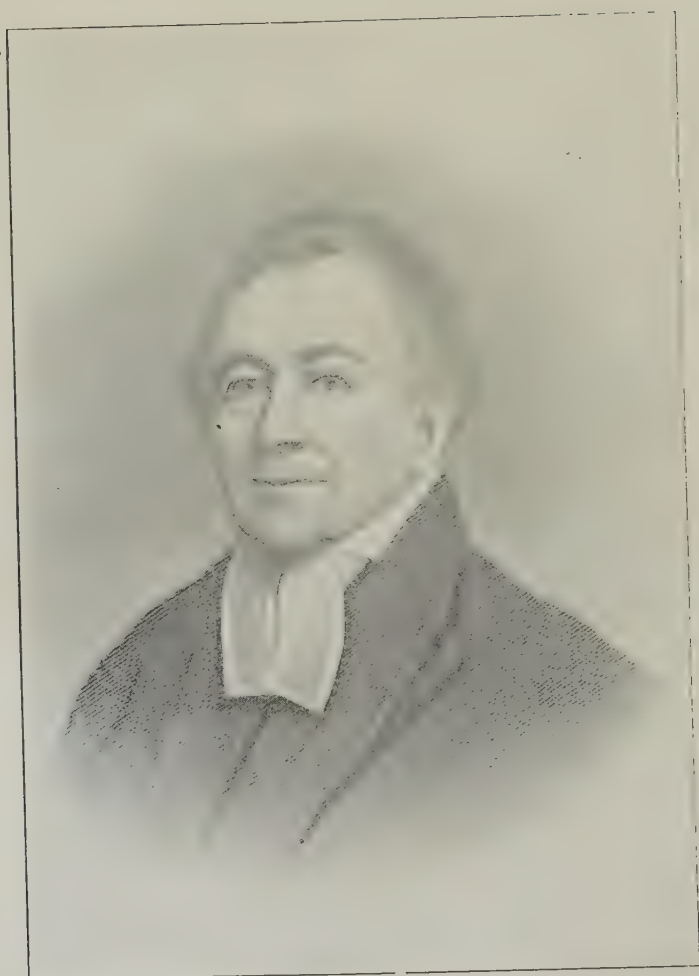


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Archæological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

Volume II.



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MARIETTA CENTENNIAL NUMBER.

OHIO

Archæological and Historical
QUARTERLY.

Vol. II.

JUNE, 1888.

No. 1.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT MARIETTA,
APRIL SEVENTH, 1888.

PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.

THE Washington County Pioneer Association, as early as their annual meeting held April 7th, 1881, decided to undertake a Centennial Celebration of the first organized and permanent settlement of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, to be observed in Marietta, April seventh, 1888. Further attention was given to the subject at the ninety-fifth anniversary of the settlement, held April seventh, 1883, at which time Hon. George B. Loring delivered the leading address.

At the first meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, held in Columbus, March 13, 1885, it was resolved, "That this Society will gladly participate in the proposed celebration to be held in the city of Marietta on the seventh of April, 1888, to commemorate the application of the principles of the Ordinance [of 1787] in the first permanent occupation of the soil of Ohio by systematic colonization."

An invitation was extended by the Washington County

Pioneer Association, at the annual meeting on April 7th, 1886, to the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society to hold their annual meeting at Marietta on April seventh, 1888, instead of at the usual time at Columbus. This invitation was accepted by the Society at its meeting February 24th, 1887.

In making their preparations for the celebration, the Pioneer Association received a most cordial and efficient support, not only from its own members but also from the people of Marietta and vicinity. The money to meet necessary expenses was raised, first—by certificates of membership of the Association, which were taken at \$1 each, largely through the labors and influence of the ladies. The amount realized from this source for expenses was \$1,050.54. Second—a guarantee fund amounting to \$2,000 was subscribed by a number of gentlemen. The total expenses were \$1,960.00, which were paid by first applying all the funds of the Association arising from memberships, and then by a draft of 50 per cent. on the guarantee fund, which provides for the balance of expenses and for the publication of proceedings and addresses.

Preparations were made for the accommodation and entertainment of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society; and Thursday evening, April fifth, and all of the sixth were assigned to the business and appropriate exercises of the Society. The several members were notified and invited to attend, a large number of whom were present to participate in the proceedings of the interesting occasion.

THE PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES.

The following was the order of exercises for the meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, which formed a part of the general celebration:

THURSDAY, APRIL 5TH, 1888—7:30 P. M.

AT THE CITY HALL.

MUSIC.

President's Annual Address..... F. C. SESSIONS, Esq., of Columbus

MUSIC.

AddressThe Building of the State
Judge JOSEPH COX, of Cincinnati.

MUSIC.

FRIDAY, APRIL 6TH—2 P. M.

MUSIC.

AddressWhy is Ohio Called the Buckeye State?
Hon. WILLIAM M. FARRAR, of Cambridge, Ohio.

MUSIC.

Short Addresses.....

{	Hon. R. B. HAYES, of Ohio
	Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, of Massachusetts
	DAVID FISHER, Esq., of Michigan
	Prof. F. W. PUTNAM, of Massachusetts

MUSIC.

CITY HALL, 7:30 P. M.

MUSIC.

AddressA Familiar Talk About Monarchists and Jacobins
Hon. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, of New York.

MUSIC.

A programme of exercises, suitable to the seventh of April, the Centennial Day proper, was prepared, and Senator Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, were invited to make the principal addresses, and His Excellency, Governor J. B. Foraker to make the opening address of welcome. The following programme was carried out:

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY UNDER THE
ORDINANCE OF 1787, AT MARIETTA, OHIO, APRIL 7, 1888.

ORDER OF EXERCISES APRIL 7, 1888.

At Sunrise, a salute of thirteen guns was fired.

CITY HALL, 9:30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by DOUGLAS PUTNAM, President of the
Washington County Pioneer Association.

PRAYER, BY DR. A. L. CHAPIN, OF WISCONSIN.

Overture — "American," *Weegand*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Address of Welcome,.....by the Governor of Ohio
HON. J. B. FORAKER.

MUSIC.

Gavotte — "First Heart Throbs,".....*Eslenberg*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

4 *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly.*

Oration.....Senator GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.
MUSIC.

Serenade.....*Title*

Short Addresses. { Hon. R. B. HAYES, Ex-President of the United States.
{ BERNARD PETERS, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

MUSIC.

Finale.Hail Columbia

At 12:30 a salute of one hundred guns was fired, and the bells of the city were rung in honor of the arrival of the Mayflower, one hundred years ago to-day, "when the sun was at the meridian."

AFTERNOON EXERCISES — AT CITY HALL, 1:30 P. M.

MUSIC.

Overture — "Zampa,".....*Harold*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Oration.....Hon J. RANDOLPH TUCKER, of Virginia
MUSIC.

National Airs.....*Carlton*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Letter read, from.....Hon. GEORGE B. LORING, of Massachusetts

Address.....Hon. SAMUEL F. HUNT, of Cincinnati

Selection — "Nanon,".....*Genee*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Address.....Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, of Massachusetts
MUSIC.

Finale — "America,".....*Mailard*
At sunset a National salute of thirty-eight guns was fired.

8 P. M.—GENERAL RECEPTION AT THE CITY HALL.

At which all had an opportunity to meet the distinguished guests of the occasion.

During the reception the Cincinnati Grand Orchestra executed the following Programme:

March — Our Country.....*Krael*

Overture — Martha.....*Flotow*

Gaite Waltzes.....*Waldteufel*

Selection — "Black Hussar,".....*Mellorcker*

INTERMISSION.

Overture — Poet and Peasant.....*Sappe*

Gavotte — Separation.....*Brandt*

Cornet Solo — Polka de Concert.....*Bellsted*

MR. HENRY SEVERS.

Selection — Erminie.....*Jacobowsky.*

The exercises for Sunday, the eighth of April, were committed to the pastors of the several churches in Marietta

and Harmar, and the following programme was carried out through the day:

10:30 A. M.—Religious services at the various churches, as usual, by the pastors or visiting clergymen. Rev. C. E. Dickinson gave an historical discourse in the Congregational Church. Mr. Bernard Peters, of Brooklyn, N. Y., delivered a discourse in the Unitarian Church.

3:00 P. M.—At City Hall, Rev. Dr. Boyd, presiding. Order of service: 1. Singing. 2. Reading of Scripture. 3. Prayer by Rev. Dr. I. N. Sturtevant. 4. Singing. 5. Address, by Rev. Dr. H. M. Storrs, of New Jersey. 6. Singing. 7. Benediction.

7:30 P. M.—Platform Meeting at City Hall, President John Eaton presiding. Order of service: 1. Singing. 2. Prayer by Dr. J. F. Tuttle. 3. Singing. 4. Addresses by Dr. A. L. Chapin, ex-President of Beloit College, and Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, President of Wabash College. 5. Singing. 6. Addresses, by Rev. Dr. I. N. Sturtevant, of Cleveland, Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, of Boston, and Dr. B. W. Arnett, of Wilberforce University. 7. Singing. 8. Benediction.

7:30 P. M.—At the Unitarian Church.—Sermon, or addresses, by Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, and Professor Dean, of Hiram College.

THE CELEBRATION.

Some apprehensions were indulged as to the state of the weather that might be expected at so early a time in the spring season. A kind Providence seemed to have interposed most auspiciously in that respect, as the following from the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* testifies:

“All the days of the Celebration were lovely, and the seventh the loveliest of them. The crimson was just peeping from the peach trees, and the buckeye buds were swollen and growing golden, while the faint green of the willow and the tender pink of the maples gave the eye joy, and the sun was brilliant as the air was bracing.

“If the pioneers struck such a springtime it is not sur-

prising they regarded the shores of the Ohio and Muskingum as a place of rarest fascinations and rich with promises beyond anything in the soil and air of New England."

In addition to a cordial hospitality extended by private families, ample provision was made for meals at the Armory Building, and a free dinner served on Saturday the seventh to over six hundred guests. The rooms in Dr. B. F. Hart's house were prepared for the reception and display of old relics, and also the lecture room of the Congregational church, which contained some more modern specimens of art. Both of these matters were committed exclusively to the hands of the ladies, and were conducted in a manner to afford the greatest satisfaction.

The City Hall was handsomely decorated with National and State emblems, representing the American, German and French nationalities; the States formed out of the old Northwest Territory, and Massachusetts and Virginia.

Business houses and private residences were covered with flags. Provision was made for seating, on reserved seats, eight hundred visitors and elderly persons in attendance. The hall itself was filled to its utmost capacity, estimated at 2,400. Overflow meetings were held in the Unitarian Church, while the streets were crowded with people unable to gain admittance to the exercises. The utmost good order prevailed, and the occasion was one of greatest enjoyment and most pleasant re-unions to the thousands of citizens and visitors who were present.

OFFICIAL DELEGATES.

The following persons had been chosen as delegates representing their several constituencies:

From Massachusetts, by appointment of Governor Ames, Hon. George B. Loring, Rev. Temple Cutler, Professor Frank W. Putnam, Rev. E. E. Hale, John J. May, Esq., all of whom were present except Mr. Loring.

From Indiana, Hon. B. Wilson Smith, of Lafayette.

From Wisconsin, Rev. Dr. A. L. Chapin, Ex-President of Beloit College, and H. W. Nickerson, Esq.

From Illinois, Dr. N. C. Smith, of Paris.

From Minnesota, W. D. Mitchell, Esq.

From Rhode Island, Jas. M. Varnum, F. T. Sibley, H. T. Drowne and Chas. Emote received appointments, but were unable to attend.

The National Congregational Council appointed the following delegates: Rev. I. N. Sturtevant, Rev. A. L. Chapin, D. D., Dr. Josiah Strong, President Jas. B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, and Lieutenant-Governor Cooke, of Connecticut.

The American Historical Association appointed as delegates Rev. A. P. Putnam, Dr. H. B. Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., Ex-President R. B. Hayes, and Professor Geo. W. Knight, of Ohio State University, of whom the two last named gentlemen were present.

The American Antiquarian Society appointed as delegates Hon. George F. Hoar, Rev. E. E. Hale, Dr. W. F. Poole, and Dr. H. B. Adams, of whom the two first named were present.

The New York Historical Society was represented by Nicholas Fish, Esq., Vice President.

The following named societies appointed delegates who were unable to attend:

New Hampshire Historical Society: Dr. I. W. Andrews and John T. Perry.

The Rhode Island Historical Society and the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati: James M. Varnum, F. T. Sibley, H. T. Drowne and Charles Emote.

New Jersey Historical Society: Dr. I. W. Andrews.

Buffalo Historical Society: Rev. A. T. Chester, Geo. S. Hazard and S. Guthrie.

The Athens County Pioneer Association took the following action and were largely in attendance:

“At a special meeting of the Athens County Pioneer Association, held October 27th, 1887, at its rooms, the fol-

lowing named members were selected as delegates to represent this Association, upon invitation, at the Centennial Anniversary and celebration of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, to be held at Marietta, April 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, 1888:

"Judge John Welch, Judge R. de Steiguer, Judge A. G. Brown, Gen. C. H. Grosvenor, Maj. L. M. Jewett, Messrs. D. B. Stewart, J. H. Glazier, G. M. McDougal, E. H. Moore, O. W. Brown, E. L. Walker, Zibe Hoskinson, Jacob Lash, Mrs. R. de Steiguer, Mrs. E. G. Carpenter, Mrs. D. B. Stewart, Mrs. A. S. C. Brown, Mrs. G. M. McDougal and Miss Emma L. Carpenter."

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati was represented by John A. Gano, William Henry Davis and E. C. Dawes.

Members of the Order of Cincinnati: Wm. L. Robinson, Murat Halstead, George Ilson, H. F. Furgeson, J. D. Caldwell and wife, Edward Block, H. C. Ezekiel, John F. Follett and W. Love.

Members of the Exposition Committee: James Allison, President; Hon. Lee H. Brooks, Henry J. Snider, L. H. McCammon, A. B. Champion, Levi C. Goodale, J. M. Blair, George B. Kerper, Gus Honshell, A. M. Grose, J. P. Love, S. W. Cofflin, R. S. Mannen, Gov. J. B. Foraker, Chris Kinsinger, Wm. Ronsheim, A. J. Warner and E. B. Hubbard.

Marietta College Club of Cincinnati: Dr. E. E. White, W. H. Blymger, G. H. Barbour, Esq., Judge S. N. Maxwell, Rev. George N. Maxwell, D. D., Ernest Rehm, W. W. Dyar, G. C. Wilson, T. H. Kelley, Henry Bosworth and Major E. C. Dawes.

Most of the above-named gentlemen from Cincinnati were present.

From the Hamilton County Pioneer Association, John D. Caldwell attended as delegate.

The Muskingum County Pioneer Association was largely represented. Numerous pioneers were present from Guern-

sey and Meigs counties, from the townships in Washington county and from all parts of Ohio and the great west.

The responsibility and labor of making all preliminary arrangements, and of carrying them into successful execution, devolved upon the following members of a Centennial Central Committee, who received their authority to act from the Pioneer Association and from the citizens of Marietta: Dr. I. W. Andrews,¹ chairman; T. W. Moore, A. J. Warner, R. R. Dawes, O. H. Mitchell, R. M. Stimson, Beman Gates, W. G. Way, S. L. Grosvenor and W. P. Cutler.

¹ To Dr. Andrews, more than to any other man, was due the inception, the arrangement and the successful consummation of the Centennial Celebration at Marietta. He labored hard and faithfully to make glorious the anniversary of the greatest event in the history of Ohio and the Northwest—a history with which he was so well acquainted. The one shadow upon the Centennial day was the absence of Dr. Andrews and the knowledge that he lay upon a bed of illness many miles from the scene which he desired so much to witness. It is with a deep and poignant sorrow that we announce his death, which occurred at Hartford, Connecticut, April 18th, 1888. It seems especially sad that the pages which tell of the success of the Centennial should at the same time chronicle the death of him whose best work in life was devoted to the preparations for that anniversary.

A fitting tribute to his memory and to his services as man, scholar, educator and writer is in preparation, by one who knew him intimately, and will be presented before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, of which he was an interested and active member, and printed in the *QUARTERLY*. In his death the *QUARTERLY* loses a valued editor. While he was not actively engaged upon every number, his advice and opinions largely directed the beginnings of this publication, and the first article that appeared in its pages came from his pen. His colleagues on the Editorial Board cannot refrain at this time from expressing their sense of personal bereavement, not only as fellow-workers but as friends, fellow-citizens and fellow-men. The memory will long dwell with them of the deep scholar, the broad thinker, the successful teacher.

G. W. K.

Major Jewett Palmer was appointed Director, and the general supervision was committed to him. His efforts received full and efficient support from sub-committees appointed to take charge of various departments, Col. N. L. Nye having charge of receptions, and Judge F. J. Cutter of entertainments. Mrs. Alderman had charge of relics and works of art, and Mrs. Mills of meals and dinner at the Armory building. The following were the officers of the Washington County Pioneer Association elected April 7th, 1887, to serve the ensuing year:

Douglas Putnam, President; Wm. Glines, Vice President (deceased); Wm. F. Curtis, Recording Secretary; R. M. Stimson, Corresponding Secretary; F. A. Wheeler, Treasurer. I. W. Andrews, B. F. Hart, Henry Fearing, L. J. P. Putnam, W. P. Cutler, Executive Committee.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE CELEBRATION.

The following extract from a communication to *The Independent*, by Professor George W. Knight, one of the delegates of the American Historical Association to the Centennial, shows the character of the celebration.

"The past thirteen years have witnessed in the United States a series of commemorative celebrations, marking the one-hundredth anniversary of the various leading events attendant upon the birth and childhood of the United States. In 1875 came the anniversary of Lexington and Concord, and hardly had the echoes died away when the great celebration at Philadelphia brought to our thoughts the violent separation from the mother country. Then came the Yorktown Centennial, in remembrance of the final triumph of the infant republics.

"All these celebrations were attended with memories of strife, privation, suffering, physical and political contests. To-day has witnessed the appropriate commemoration of events of a very different nature. Peace, not war, has been the theme; the founding of new governments, not the overturning of old political and governmental orders: the plant-

ing of a State, not the tearing off of a colony from the mother-land. The events which have to-day been celebrated in this, the oldest American settlement beyond the Ohio, mark the beginning of that steady westward march of the pioneer, which for one hundred years has not for a single moment been intermitted. Not Ohio alone, not the Northwest, but the whole United States is interested and vitally concerned in the events attendant upon the movements of that little band of forty-eight pioneers, who, on the 7th of April, 1788, 'when the sun was at the meridian,' landed at the mouth of the Muskingum and founded the settlement of Marietta.

"Probably nowhere else in the Northwest Territory has the true historic spirit been developed so perfectly as in Marietta. Nowhere else is there felt—what is so rare in America—such veneration for the deeds of the fathers, such conscious and never-forgotten appreciation of their endeavors and their aspirations; nowhere a greater, albeit an unobtrusive pride in their achievements.

"This local spirit and the nature of the events that occasion this anniversary, combined to give a distinctive character to the celebration of to-day. The blare of trumpet, the roll and rattle of drum, the straggling procession, the boisterous and empty-headed oratory were notably absent, and in their place the orderly gatherings of intelligent people from all parts of the Union to listen to, and dwell upon the best thoughts which the significance of the day inspired in the minds of deep-thinking men. No better index of the character of the occasion can be found than that among those present were official delegates from Massachusetts, Virginia, and other commonwealths, from the American Historical Association, the Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Ohio and other State Historical Societies. The Ohio Historical Society had fittingly ushered in the great celebration by holding its annual meeting here on the fifth and sixth of April, when several addresses well befitting the occasion were presented, that only served to whet the men-

tal appetites for the great historic and literary feast of to-day. * * * * *

“Freedom, religion, education, morality are the keynotes struck throughout the celebration, and Virginia and Massachusetts have joined hands in congratulating themselves and the Northwest upon the completion of the first century of the career of the first born child of the United States.”

W. P. CUTLER.

ADDRESSES OF APRIL SEVENTH.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY GOVERNOR J. B. FORAKER.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The duty that has been assigned to me in connection with this occasion is very simple in its character. It does not require nor even allow me to enumerate, much less elaborate, any of the many interesting and important suggestions which a consideration of the event we celebrate is calculated to start in every intelligent mind. Neither does it authorize me to recount the progress and the triumphs of the century that has since elapsed. All this has been assigned to others, who are here formally to address you. They will tell who the men were who constituted that brave, heroic pioneer band who landed here on the seventh day of April, 1787. They will tell you of their trials and tribulations, their sacrifices and sufferings, their proud patriotism and their peerless purposes. And they will also point out to you the importance, directly and indirectly, of that first settlement, upon not only this Northwest Territory, but also upon the United States and the whole world. They will indicate how the spirit of liberty that saved and dedicated this section to free institutions thus turned the balance in favor of freedom as against slavery, and saved this Republic, with its recognition of human rights, to be the beacon light and cheer and encouragement to the liberty-loving people of the whole civilized earth.

These orators will also doubtless tell you the thrilling story of how the wilderness has been transformed into a garden, how farms and cities have succeeded forests and savages, how manufactures, commerce, art, science, education, literature and morality have here flourished and blessed mankind. All this, I say, pertains to the duties that are imposed upon the distinguished gentlemen who are soon

to be introduced to you. My duty is the simple one of speaking but a word of welcome. When the forty-eight passengers of that old, but modern, Mayflower landed here one hundred years ago there was no one to speak such a word to them. They had left the world behind. They found here only the wilds of nature, a necessity to sacrifice and an opportunity to labor.

But how changed! Our State is but one of the five great empires, almost, that have been created from what was then known as the 'territory lying northwest of the river Ohio.' And yet we have within our borders a population of nearly four millions of people. Our forty thousand square miles of area are covered with all the improvements, conveniences, facilities, beauties and adornments of the most advanced modern Christian civilization, and Ohio in these respects is but typical, not only of that original Northwest Territory, but also of that further and greater West lying still beyond, and stretching away to the golden shores of the Pacific.

This is the hour of our might and glory. In it we turn to this spot, proud of our achievements, but not unmindful of our humble beginning. We come, however, not to boast of what has been accomplished, but to express appreciation for those conditions by which that beginning was surrounded, on account of which all that has since followed was made possible. We come here to-day remembering that we owe to New England and to Virginia and to other of our sister States a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid, except only by that necessary compensation that must result, if we continue to stand together, as God and our fathers intended, for an indissoluble Union, a common Constitution, one country, one flag, and one destiny of the whole American people.

In other words, we remember to-day, and are here to give testimony to them, the effective good works of Manasseh Cutler and his associates and co-laborers in demanding and securing, as a condition precedent to their occupation of

this soil, our first organic law, that immortal instrument, the Ordinance of 1787; and for the further purpose of giving testimony that we remember with gratitude the generous, liberal, patriotic action of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Delaware in voting, as they did by their representatives in that old Continental Congress, that slavery, although a domestic institution with them, should not be allowed to put its accursed blight on this fair heritage. The people of this Commonwealth remember how largely they are indebted for the blessings they have reaped and enjoyed, to these important contributions from our sister States, and hence it was that, in connection with this occasion, they not only remembered this indebtedness, but were solicitous that representatives of these other Commonwealths should be here to engage with us in the exercises of this day. The spirit that prompted the invitations, in response to which our visiting friends are honoring us with their presence, bids me say to them now that they are welcome—earnestly, heartily, cordially—thrice welcome to our midst, our homes, our hearts and a participation in this joyous event.

ORATION OF HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

THERE are doubtless many persons in this audience who have gathered here as to their Father's house. They salute their Mother on her birthday with the prayer and the confident hope that the life which now completes its first century may be immortal as liberty. If we were here only to do honor to Marietta—to celebrate the planting of this famous town, coeval with the Republic, seated by the beautiful river, her annals crowded with memories of illustrious soldiers and statesmen—this assemblage would be well justified and accounted for.

But there is far more than this in the occasion. The states which compose what was once the Northwest Territory may properly look upon this as their birthday rather than that upon which they were admitted into the Union. The company who came to Marietta with Rufus Putnam April 7, 1788, came to found, not one State, but five, whose institutions they demanded should be settled, before they started, by an irrevocable compact. These five children, born of a great parentage and in a great time, are, as we count the life of nations, still in earliest youth. Yet they already contain within themselves all the resources of a great empire. Here is the stimulant climate of the temperate zone, where brain and body are at their best. Here will be a population of more than fifteen millions at the next census. Here is an area about equal to that of the Austrian Empire, and larger than that of any other country in Europe except Russia. Here is a wealth more than three times that of any country on this continent except the Republic of which they are a part—a wealth a thousand times that of Massachusetts, including Maine, a hundred years ago; one-third larger than that of Spain; equal to that of Holland and Belgium and Denmark combined; equal now, I suppose, to that of Italy; already half as great as that of the vast empire of Russia, with its



SITE OF MARIETTA AND HARMAR, 1788.

population of more than a hundred millions, whose possessions cover a sixth part of the habitable globe. Below the earth are exhaustless stores of iron, and coal, and salt, and copper. Above, field, and farm, and forest, can easily feed and clothe and shelter the entire population of Europe, with her sixty empires, kingdoms and republics.

The yearly product of the manufacture of these five States is estimated by the best authorities at from twelve to fifteen hundred millions of dollars. Everything needed for a perfect workshop in all the mechanic and manufacturing arts has nature fashioned and gathered here, within easy reach, as nowhere else on earth. These states had, in 1886, forty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three miles of railway; equal, within two hundred miles, to that of Great Britain and France combined; nearly three times that of Austria or Russia, and about twice that of Germany; while mighty rivers and mightier lakes already bear along their borders a commerce rivaling that of the ports of the Old World, to fair cities and prosperous towns, each one of which has its own wonderful and fascinating story. And above all this, and better than all this, man, the noblest growth this soil supplies, descended of a great race, from which he has inherited the love of liberty, the sense of duty, the instinct of honor, is here to relate and celebrate his century of stainless history. Whatever of these things nature has not given is to be traced directly to the institutions of civil and religious liberty the wisdom of your fathers established; above all, to the great Ordinance. As the great jurist and statesman of Ohio said more than fifty years ago: "The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all." Here was the first human government under which absolute civil and religious liberty has always prevailed. Here no witch was ever hanged or burned. No heretic was ever molested. Here no slave was ever born or dwelt. When older states or nations, where the chains of human bondage have been broken, shall utter the proud boast, "With a great sum

obtained I this freedom," each sister of this imperial group—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin—may lift her queenly head with the yet prouder answer, "But I was free-born."

They were destined, also, to determine the character and decide the fate of the great Republic of which they are a part, and, through that, of constitutional liberty on earth. In saying this I speak with careful consideration of the meaning of the words. I wish, above all things, on this occasion, to avoid extravagance. I hope that what is said here may bear the examination of students of history in this most skeptical and critical age, and may be recalled on this spot without a blush, by those who shall come after us, for many a future centennial.

There is no better instance than this of the effect of well-ordered liberty on the fortune of a people. Nature is no respecter of persons in her bounty. The buried race who built yonder mound dwelt here for ages, under the same sky, on the bank of the same river, with the same climate and soil. We know not who they were. Their institutions and government, their arts and annals have perished in a deeper oblivion than that which covers the builders of the Pyramids—which moved Sir Thomas Browne to his sublimest utterance: "History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveler, as he paceth amazeonly through these deserts, asketh of her, 'Who builded them?' and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not." The Indian and the Frenchman dwelt here, but could not hold their place. The growth of city and town and country, the wealth of the soil and the mine, the commerce of lake and river, the happiness and virtue of the fireside, the culture of the college, the three million children at school, the statute book on whose page there is no shame, are due to the great and wise men who gave you, as your birthday gift, universal liberty, universal suffrage, equal rights and inviolable faith.

There is no obscurity in the date or in the transaction.

History pours upon the event its blazing sunlight. We see it, in all its relations, more clearly than it was seen by those who took part in it; more clearly than we behold the events of our own time. No passion disturbs our judgment, leading us either to exaggerate or depreciate. There is room for no feeling in our bosoms to-day but an honorable pride in our ancestry and an honorable love of our country. "It is a tale brief and familiar to all; for the examples by which you may still be happy are to be found, not abroad, men of Athens, but at home."

History furnishes countless examples in every age of heroic achievement and of great enterprise, in war and peace, wisely conducted to successful issue. But the events which men remember and celebrate, which become the household words and stirring memories of nations, the sacred Olympiads by which time is measured, and from which eras take their date, are those which mark the great advances of Liberty on to new ground which she has held. Such, by unanimous consent of the race to which we belong, are the enactment of Magna Charta, the compact on board the Mayflower, the Declaration of Independence, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and later, in our own day, the Proclamation of Emancipation. I believe the event which you celebrate is not behind any of these, whether in good fortune as to time, in the character of the actors, in the wisdom which guided them, or in the far-reaching beneficence of the result.

I am speaking to men who know their own history. I can but repeat—we gather on such occasions but to repeat—familiar stories—

"Our lips must tell them to our sons,
And they again to theirs."

You know better than I do the miracle of history which brought the founders of the Northwest to this spot at the precise time when alone they could bring with them the institutions which moulded its destiny. A few

years earlier or a few years later and the great Ordinance would have been impossible.

Look for a moment at the forty-eight men who came here a hundred years ago to found the first American civil government, whose jurisdiction did not touch tide-water. See what manner of men they were; in what school they had been trained; what traditions they had inherited. I think you must agree that of all the men who ever lived on earth fit to perform that "ancient, primitive, and heroical work," the founding of a state, they were the fittest. Puritanism, as a distinct, vital, and predominant power, endured less than a century in England. It appears early in the reign of Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, and departs at the restoration of Charles II, in 1660. But in that brief time it was the preserver, and may almost be called the creator, of English freedom. The Puritans created the modern English House of Commons. That House, when they took their seats in it, was the feeble and timid instrument of despotism. When they left it, it was what it has ever since been, the strongest, freest, most venerable legislative body the world had ever seen. When they took their seats in it, it was little more than the register of the King's command. When they left it, it was the main depository of the national dignity and the national will. King, and minister, and prelate, who stood in their way, they brought to the bar and to the block. In that brief but crowded century they had made the name of Englishman the highest title of honor upon earth. A great historian has said "the dread of their invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the Island." He might have added, the dread of their invincible leader was on all the inhabitants of Europe.

Puritanism had not spent itself as a force in England when it crossed the sea with Bradford and Winthrop. What a genius for creating the institutions of liberty and laying deep the foundations of order was in that handful of men who almost at the same instant framed the first written constitution that ever existed, and devised the New Eng-

land town, that unmatched mechanism of local self-government, which has survived every dynasty in Europe and existed for two centuries and a half almost without a change.

The forty-one men who landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth and the forty-eight men who came down the Ohio in the Mayflower to Marietta were of the same race and the same faith. It was one hundred and sixty-eight years from the planting of the Puritan Commonwealth to the founding of the great Northwest, destined so soon to become, and, as it seems, forever to remain, the seat and center of empire on this continent. But in the meantime that faith had been broadened, and softened, and liberalized. The training of the race in that mighty gymnasium had changed the spirit of English Puritanism into the spirit of American liberty.

To Americans there is no more delightful and instructive study than to trace the hand of a divine Providence in that agelong development of the capacity to take their full and leading part in the achievement of independence, in building the states, in laying the foundation of empire in the little English sect, contending at first only for bare toleration. See how the Power which planted the coal, whose subtle chemistry gets ready the iron for the use of the new race, which dismisses the star on its pathway through the skies, promising that in a thousand years it shall return again true to its hour, and keeps his word, gets his children ready that they shall not fail in the appointed time for the fulfilment of his high design.

First. The history of the men who founded Ohio and of their ancestors since they landed at Plymouth and Salem was essentially a military history. It was a training which developed, more than any other, the best quality of the individual soldier, whether for command or for service. There never was West Point education like that of this military school. Lord Chatham declared to the House of Lords in 1777: "America has carried you through four wars, and

will now carry you to your death. I venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers fit to command the troops of all the European powers."

To many of them it was a life under arms. Every boy was a sharp-shooter. The Indian wars, where, as Fisher Ames said, heroes are not celebrated, but are formed; the great struggle with France, from whose glory and victory your fathers were never absent, of which a continent was the prize; the great wars of William and Mary, and of Queen Anne; Fort Edward; William Henry; Crown Point; Martinique; the Havana; twice captured Louisburg, which they took the second time with its own cannon; Quebec, where they heard the shout of triumph which filled the dying ear of Wolfe, and where, at last, the lilies went down before the lion, never again, but for a brief period in Louisiana, to float as an emblem of dominion over any part of the American continent—these were the school-rooms of their discipline. Whatever share others may have taken, the glory of that contest is your fathers' glory; that victory is your fathers' victory. Then came twelve years of hollow and treacherous truce, and then—the Revolution.

Second. It was not to the school of war alone that God put these, his master-builders of States. For a century and a half every man played his part where the most important functions were those managed most directly by the people, under a system which, in all domestic affairs, was self-government in everything but name. They introduced all the great social changes, which prepared the way for the Republic, and made it inevitable. As has already been said, they adopted the first written social compact, and devised the town system. They also abolished primogeniture, which act, Mr. Webster declared, "fixed the future frame and form of their government." De Tocqueville says: "The law of descent was the last step of equality. When the legislator has regulated the law of inheritance he may rest from his labor. The machine once put in motion will go on for ages and advance, as if self-guided,

toward a given point." They established universal education. They incorporated into their State the ancient customs of Kent, by virtue of which every child was born free and the power asserted to devise estates free from all feudal burdens. They also abolished entails.

Third. During the whole time the resources of a skillful statesmanship were taxed to the utmost to maintain their free institutions against the power of England, where every dynasty in turn—Stuart, Cromwell, Hanover—looked jealously upon the infant Commonwealths. The Massachusetts charter conferred upon the colony the power only of making laws not repugnant to the laws of England, and reserved a veto to the crown. The Puritan magistrates shrewdly resisted the desire of their people for a code, and contrived that these great changes should, as far as might be, be introduced as customs, so as not to be submitted to the authorities in England. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties was sent about from town to town in manuscript, and was never printed until 1843. There was never a time when the mighty power of England was not a menace to our ancestors, from the first settlement throughout the whole of that long strife, which did not really come to an end until Jay's treaty and Anthony Wayne's victory on the Maumee, in 1794.

Fourth. They had a religious belief which held that the law of God was the supreme practical rule in the conduct of States. However narrow and bigoted at times in its application, we find throughout their history a conscientious and reverent endeavor to govern their Commonwealth by this rule. Thus the theological discussions in which they delighted, the constant consideration of the relation of man to his Creator and to the supreme law of duty, became blended with that of their natural rights and their rights under the charter and the British Constitution, and of the true boundary which separates liberty and authority in the State. So, when the time for Independence came, they had decided the Revolution in their great debate

before a gun was fired. It is said the cannon of the Union armies in the late war were shotted with the reply to Hayne. The ammunition of the Continental soldiery in their earlier war for freedom came from the discussion of the pulpit and the farmer's fireside.

Fifth. There would have been at best but a provincial and narrow character had New England alone furnished the theater on which the scene was to be acted. The great drama of the Revolution brought her people under an influence to which they owe more than they have always acknowledged. I mean that of their allies and compatriots of the other colonies, who were their associates in that mighty struggle, especially that of Virginia. John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and Gouverneur Morris, John Dickinson and Luther Martin were new and powerful teachers to the little communities, who, with every faculty of intellect and heart, were studying the fundamental principles of political science under Otis and the Adamses. But there now rose upon their sky the great Virginia constellation. If Virginia were held to the Union by no other tie she is forever bound to it by that tie, ever strongest to a generous spirit, the benefits she has conferred upon it. We shall see how her example of self-denial made possible the event we celebrate, and how the wisdom of her statesmen gave the event its character of far-reaching and perpetual beneficence. The teachers of New England now brought their pupils from the school where they had so well learned the principles of natural right and civil liberty to the great university where they were to take their degree in the building of states and framing constitutions under Washington and Jefferson, and Patrick Henry and Madison, and the Lees and Marshall. Within twelve years before the settlement at Marietta eleven of the thirteen States formed their constitutions. The convention that framed the Constitution of the United States was in session when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed.

Sixth. This is by no means all. There is something

more than the love of liberty—something more than the habit of successful resistance to oppression and the courage and power to assert the rights of mankind—needed to fit men to construct great states on sure foundations. The generation which was on the stage when the Northwest was planted had received another lesson. They had been taught the necessity of strengthening their political institutions, so that they should afford due security for property and social order and enable government to exert promptly the power needed for its own protection, without which it cannot long endure. Shays' insurrection in Massachusetts in 1787 was inspired mainly by the desire to prevent the enforcement of debts by the courts. To it was doubtless due the clause in the Ordinance of 1787,—inserted also in the Constitution—forbidding the passage of any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The disrespect with which the Continental Congress is sometimes spoken of is unjust. Its want of vigor was due to the limitation put upon its powers by the States, and to no want of wisdom or energy in its members. That body will ever hold a great place in history—if it had done nothing else—which declared Independence, which called Washington to the chief command, which began its labors with the great state papers which Chatham declared surpassed the masterpieces of antiquity, and ended them with the Ordinance of 1787. But the States, jealous of all authority but their own refused to confer on Congress the essential power of taxation and the means to enforce its own resolves. The effect of this short-sighted jealousy, in increasing and prolonging the burden of the war and in lowering the national character with foreign nations after it was over, the people had learned, to their great cost.

From all this experience there had come to the men who were on the stage in this country in 1787 an aptness for the construction of constitutions and great permanent statutes such as the world never saw before or since. Their supremacy in this respect is as unchallenged as

that of the great authors of the reign of Elizabeth in the drama.

Governor Stoughton said, in 1668, that "God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." The quality of the grain continued to improve under his care. Never did the great Husbandman choose his seed more carefully than when he planted Ohio. I do not believe the same number of persons fitted for the highest duties and responsibilities of war and peace could ever have been found in a community of the same size as were among the men who founded Marietta in the spring of 1788, or who joined them within twelve months thereafter. "Many of our associates," said Varnum, on the first 4th of July, "are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue; and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well-informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics." "No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." "The best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts," writes Carrington to James Monroe, "a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory, and which will probably endure to the latest period of time." "I know them all," cried Lafayette, when the list of nearly fifty military officers, who were among the pioneers, were read to him in Marietta, in 1825, the tender memories of forty years thronging his aged bosom — "I know them all. I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown, and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave." Washington and Varnum, as well as Carrington and Lafayette, dwell chiefly, as was Washington's fashion, upon the personal quality of the men, and not upon their public offices or titles. Indeed, to be named with such com-

mendation, upon personal knowledge, by the cautious and conscientious Washington, was to a veteran soldier better than being knighted on the field of battle. They were the very best specimens of the New England character that could be found. They were among the most steadfast, constant, liberty-loving men that ever lived. Self-government had become to them a prime necessity of life; but it was that self-government, the sublimest thing in the universe except its Creator, by which a human will governs itself in obedience to a law higher than its own desire. They were men of a very sincere and simple religious faith. The belief in a personal immortality, that hope's perpetual breath, without which no gift of noblest origin ever cometh to man or nation, was to them a living reality. The scene which Burns describes in the *Cotter's Saturday Night*, from which he says, "Old Scotia's grandeur springs," was of nightly occurrence in the cabins of these soldiers and Indian-fighters.

The little company contained many military officers of high rank, men who had performed important exploits in war, friends and associates of Washington and Lafayette, and statesmen who had been leaders of the people in the days before the Revolution. If that assembly had been called, in the Providence of God, to assert the rights of Englishmen, as did the barons of *Magna Charta*; or to make an original social compact, as did the men on board the *Mayflower*; or to found towns and create a body of liberties and customs, as did the men of from 1620 to 1650; or, to state the case between the fundamental rights of human nature and King George, as did the men of the Declaration in 1776; or to conduct and lead and plan a great defensive war, or to fashion a constitution for state or nation, they would have been equal to the task.

There are many names that rise to the lips to-day. The settlers are not here; but their children are here. The men who knew them, or who have heard their story from the lips of fathers and mothers who knew them, are here.

Your hearts are full of their memories. The stately figures of illustrious warriors and statesmen, the forms of sweet and comely matrons, living and real as if you had seen them yesterday, rise before you now. Varnum, than whom a courtlier figure never entered the presence of a Queen—soldier, statesman, scholar, orator,—whom Thomas Paine, no mean judge, who had heard the greatest English orators in the greatest days of English eloquence, declared the most eloquent man he had ever heard speak; Whipple, gallant seaman as ever trod a deck,—a man whom Farragut or Nelson would have loved as a brother; first of the glorious procession of American naval heroes; first to fire an American gun at the flag of England on the sea; first to unfurl the flag of his own country on the Thames; first pioneer of the river commerce of the Ohio to the Gulf; Meigs, hero of Sagg Harbor, of the march to Quebec, of the storming of Stony Point,—the Christian gentleman and soldier, whom the Cherokees named the White Path, in token of the unfailing kindness and inflexible faith which had conveyed to their darkened minds some not inadequate conception of the spirit of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; Parsons, soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern war; the chivalric and ingenious Devol, said by his biographer to be “the most perfect figure of a man to be seen amongst a thousand;” the noble presence of Sproat; the sons of Israel Putnam and Manasseh Cutler; Fearing, and Greene, and Goodale, and the Gilmans; Tupper, leader in church and state,—the veteran of a hundred exploits, who seems, in the qualities of intellect and heart, like a twin brother of Rufus Putnam; the brave and patriotic, but unfortunate St. Clair, first Governor of the Northwest, President of the Continental Congress;—the mighty shades of these heroes and their companions pass before our eyes, beneath the

primeval forest, as the shades of the Homeric heroes before Ulysses in the Land of Asphodel. But no fable mingles with their story. No mythical legend of encounter with monster or dragon or heathen god exaggerates their heroism. There is no tale of she-wolf nurse, whose milk blended with the blood of their leader. The foe whose war-whoop woke the sleep of the cradle on the banks of the Muskingum needed no epic poet to add to his terrors. The she-wolf that mingled in your father's life was a very real animal. These men are in the full light of history. We can measure them, their strength and their weakness, with the precision of mathematics. They are the high-water mark of the American character thus far. Let their descendants give themselves up to the spirit of this great patriotic occasion and to the contemplation of their virtues, to form a reservoir of heroic thought and purpose to be ready when occasion comes.

It is said the founders were deceived and did not select the best place for their settlement. But it seemed a paradise to men from New England. Drowne, in the first anniversary oration, on the 7th of April, the day which the founders resolved should be "forever observed as a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio Company," declared that "then this virgin soil received you first, alluring from your native homes by charms substantial and inestimable;

"A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art; the gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils."

The exuberant eloquence of Varnum also failed him. He, too, could find nothing less than Milton's picture of Eden to express his transports.

As I have read the story of these brave men—of some of them for the first time—in the sober pages of Hildreth,

the historian of the Pioneers, I could not help applying to Ohio the proud boast of Pericles concerning Athens: "Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. Of how few Hellenes can it be said, as of them, that their deeds, when weighed in the balance, have been found equal to their fame."

But what can be said which shall be adequate to the worth of him who was the originator, inspirer, leader, and guide of the Ohio settlement from the time when he first conceived it in the closing days of the Revolution until Ohio took her place in the Union as a free State, in the summer of 1803? Every one of that honorable company would have felt it as a personal wrong had he been told that the foremost honors of this occasion would not be given to Rufus Putnam. Lossing calls him "the Father of Ohio." Burnet says "he was regarded as their principal chief and leader." He was chosen the superintendent at the meeting of the Ohio Company, in Boston, November 21, 1787, "to be obeyed and respected accordingly." The agents of the Company, when they voted in 1789 "that the 7th of April be forever observed as a public festival," speak of it as "the day when General Putnam commenced the settlement in this country." Harris dedicates the documents collected in his appendix to Rufus Putnam, "the founder and father of the State." He was a man after Washington's own pattern and after Washington's own heart; of the blood and near kindred of Israel Putnam, the man who "dared to lead where any man dared to follow." He was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1730. Like so many of the ablest men of his time, he was his own teacher. His passion for knowledge, especially mathematics and engineering, overcame the obstacle of early poverty. He was a veteran of the old French war, where his adventures sound like one of Cooper's romances. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel of a Worcester county regiment at the outbreak of the Revolution and joined the camp at Cambridge just after the battle of Lexington. His

genius as an engineer was soon disclosed. He was, as Washington expressly and repeatedly certified, the ablest engineer officer of the war, whether American or Frenchman. He was soon called by a council of generals and field officers to direct the construction of a large part of the works on which the position of the army besieging Boston depended. He told Washington he had never read a word on that branch of science. But the chieftain would take no denial. He performed his task to the entire satisfaction of his commander, and was soon ordered to superintend the defenses of Providence and Newport.

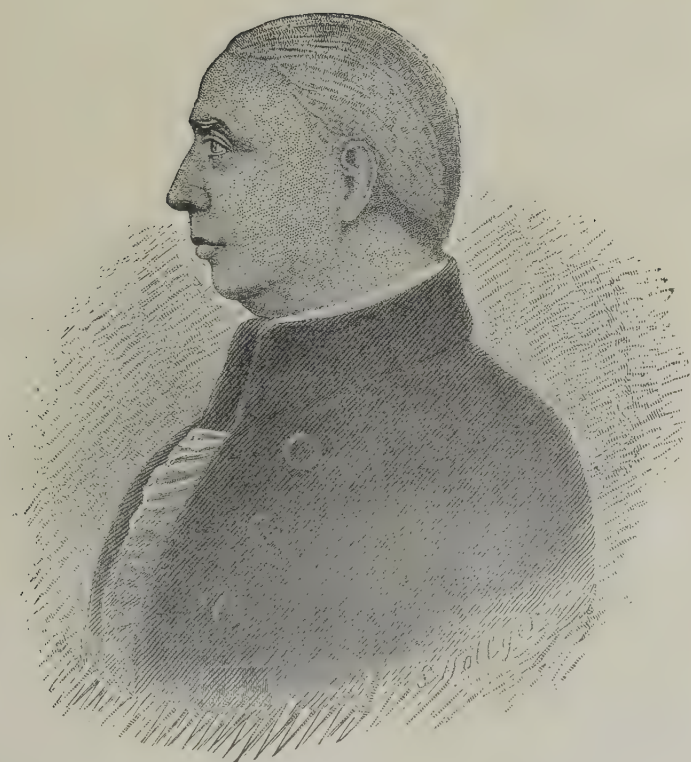
One evening in the winter of 1776 Putnam was invited to dine at headquarters. Washington detained him after the company had departed to consult him about an attack on Boston. The general preferred an entrenchment on Dorchester Heights, which would compel Howe to attack him and risk another Bunker Hill engagement with a different result, to marching his own troops over the ice to storm the town. But the ground was frozen to a great depth and resisted the pick-axe like solid rock. Putnam was ordered to consider the matter, and if he could find any way to execute Washington's plan to report at once. He himself best tells the story of the accident—we may almost say the miracle—by which the deliverance of Massachusetts from the foreign invader, a veteran British army eleven thousand strong, was wrought by the instrumentality of the millwright's apprentice:

"I left headquarters in company with another gentleman, and on our way came by General Heath's. I had no thoughts of calling until I came against his door, and then I said, 'Let us call on General Heath,' to which he agreed. I had no other motive but to pay my respects to the general. While there, I cast my eye on a book which lay on the table, lettered on the back 'Muller's Field Engineer.' I immediately requested the general to lend it to me. He denied me. I repeated my request. He again refused, and told me he never lent his books. I then told him that

he must recollect that he was one who, at Roxbury, in a measure compelled me to undertake a business which, at the time, I confessed I never had read a word about, and that he must let me have the book. After some more excuses on his part and close pressing on mine I obtained the loan of it."

In looking at the table of contents his eye was caught by the word "chandelier," a new word to him. He read carefully the description and soon had his plan ready. The chandeliers were made of stout timbers, ten feet long, into which were framed posts five feet high and five feet apart, placed on the ground in parallel lines and the open spaces filled in with bundles of fascines, strongly picketed together, thus forming a movable parapet of wood instead of earth, as heretofore done. The men were immediately set to work in the adjacent apple orchard and woodlands cutting and bundling up the fascines and carrying them with the chandeliers on to the ground selected for the work. They were put in their place in a single night.

When the sun went down on Boston on the 4th of March Washington was at Cambridge, and Dorchester Heights as nature or the husbandman had left them in the autumn. When Sir William Howe rubbed his eyes on the morning of the 5th he saw through the heavy mists the entrenchments, on which, he said, the rebels had done more work in a night than his whole army would have done in a month. He wrote to Lord Dartmouth that it must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men. His own effective force, including seamen, was but about eleven thousand. Washington had but fourteen thousand fit for duty. "Some of our officers," said the *Annual Register*—I suppose Edmund Burke was the writer—"acknowledged that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds the wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency which are so frequent in the Eastern Romances." Howe was a man of



Prof. Putnam

spirit, He took the prompt resolution to attempt to dislodge the Americans the next night before their works were made impregnable. Earl Percy, who had learned something of Yankee quality at Bunker Hill and Lexington, was to command the assault. But the Power that dispersed the Armada baffled all the plans of the British general. There came "a dreadful storm at night," which made it impossible to cross the bay until the American works were perfected.

We take no leaf from the pure chaplet of Washington's fame when we say that the success of the first great military operation of the Revolution was due to Rufus Putnam. The Americans, under Israel Putnam, marched into Boston, drums beating and colors flying. The veteran British army, aided by a strong naval force, soldier and sailor, Englishman and Tory, sick and well, bag and baggage, got out of Boston before the strategy of Washington, the engineering of Putnam, and the courage of the despised and untried yeomen, from whose leaders they withheld the usual titles of military respect. "It resembled," said Burke, "more the emigration of a nation than the breaking up of a camp."

But it is no part of our task to-day to narrate the military service of General Putnam, although that includes the fortification of West Point, an important part in the capture of Burgoyne, and an able plan, made at the request of Washington, for putting the army on a peace establishment and for a chain of fortified military posts along the entire frontier. We have to do only with the entrenchments constructed under the command of this great engineer for the constitutional fortress of American liberty.

Putnam removed his family to Rutland, Worcester county, Massachusetts, early in 1780. His house is yet standing, about ten miles from the birthplace of the grandfather of President Garfield. He returned himself to Rutland when the war was over. He had the noble public spirit of his day to which no duty seemed trifling or

obscure. For five years he tilled his farm and accepted and performed the public offices to which his neighbors called him. He was representative to the General Court, selectman, constable, tax collector, and committee to lay out school lots for the town; state surveyor, commissioner to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and volunteer in putting down Shays' rebellion. He was one of the founders and first trustees of Leicester Academy and, with his family of eight children, gave from his modest means a hundred pounds toward its endowment.

But he had larger plans in mind. The town constable of Rutland was planning an empire. His chief counsellor in his design was his old leader and friend, George Washington. Washington had been interested in the settlement of the Northwest, and in connecting it with the Atlantic by land and water routes, almost from boyhood. His brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, were members of the first Ohio Company, in 1748. He was himself a large land-owner on the Ohio and the Kanawha.

Before the army broke up a petition of two hundred and eighty-eight officers, of which Putnam was the chief promoter, was sent by him to Washington, to be forwarded to Congress, for a grant of lands north and northwest of the River Ohio to the veterans of the army in redemption of the pledges of Congress; and, further, for sales to such officers and soldiers as might choose to become purchasers on a system which would effectually prevent the monopoly of large tracts. A year later Putnam renews his urgent application to Washington for aid in his project, to which he says he has given much time since he left the army. He asks the general to recommend to him some member of Congress with whom he can directly correspond, as he does not like even to hint these things to the delegates from Massachusetts, though worthy men. She is forming plans to sell her eastern lands. Washington answers that he has exerted every power with Congress that he is master of, and had dwelt upon Putnam's argument

for a speedy decision, but Congress had adjourned without action.

In 1785 Congress appointed General Putnam one of the surveyors of northwestern lands. He says, in his letter accepting the office, that "a wish to promote emigration from among my friends into that country, and not the wages stipulated, is my principal motive." He was compelled by his engagements with Massachusetts to devolve the duty upon General Tupper as a substitute. Tupper could not get below Pittsburgh in the season of 1785. He came back to Massachusetts in the winter with such knowledge of the country as he had gained, and reported to Putnam at Rutland, on the 9th of January, 1786. The two veterans sat up together all night. At day-break they had completed a call for a convention to form a company. It was to all officers and soldiers of the late war, and all other good citizens residing in Massachusetts, who might wish to become purchasers of lands in the Ohio country. It was to extend afterward to the inhabitants of other States "as might be agreed on." The convention was held at the Bunch of Grapes, in Boston, March 1 1786; chose a committee, of which Putnam was chairman, to draft a plan for their organization, and so the Ohio Company was begun. The year was spent in obtaining the names of the associates. They were men of property and character, carefully selected, who meant to become actual residents in the new country. They were men to whom the education, religion, freedom, private and public faith, which they incorporated in the fundamental compact of Ohio, were the primal necessities of life. In 1787 the directors appointed Putnam superintendent of their affairs. In the winter ev'rything was ready. Putnam went out from his simple house in Rutland to dwell no more in his native Massachusetts. It is a plain wooden dwelling, perhaps a little better than the average of the farmer's houses of New England of that day. Yet about which of Europe's palaces do holier memories cling? Honor, and Fame, and

Freedom, and Empire, and the Fate of America went with him as he crossed the threshold. The rest of his life is, in large part, the history of Marietta and of Ohio for more than thirty years. "The impress of his character," says his biographer, "is strongly marked on the population of Marietta, on their buildings, institutions and manners."

The wise and brave men who settled Marietta would have left an enduring mark, under whatever circumstances, on any community to which they had belonged. But their colony was founded at the precise and only time when they could have secured the constitution which has given the Northwest its character and enabled it, at last, to establish in the whole country the principles of freedom which inspired alike the company of the first and second Mayflower. The glory of the Northwest is the Ordinance of 1787. What share of that glory belongs to the men who founded the Northwest? Were your fathers the architects and designers, as well as the builders, of their State? Was the constitutional liberty, which they enjoyed themselves and left to their children, their own conception and aspiration, or was it conferred by the Continental Congress?

"A gift of that which is not to be given,

By all the blended powers of earth and Heaven."

What was it that applied the spur to the halting Congress whose action the whole power of Washington had failed to overcome? The researches of historical scholars have, within a few years, opened to us for the first time this most interesting chapter of American history.

The firmness and foresight of Maryland forbade her delegates to ratify the articles of confederation until the claims of individual States to the lands north and west of the Ohio River were abandoned for the common benefit. New York set the example. The cession of Virginia was the most marked instance of a large and generous self-denial. It not only gave to the United States a resource for a large payment on the public debt and a large provision for veteran soldiers, but gave the country its first

strictly common and national interest and the first subject for the exercise of an authority wholly national.

The necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were, in the main, kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the States to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten States, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing State. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great States were established beyond the mountains they would separate themselves from the confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events, that, under it, the territory would have been occupied by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding States. They would have come into the Union with their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This pro-

posals, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security except a provision that the government of the States should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the States described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves: but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended, and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavelkind, until the temporary government was established.

In 1786 a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This committee made a report, which provided that no State should be admitted from the Western territory until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original States at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880, and Wisconsin till after 1890. The seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the States was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left

Boston on the evening of June 25, where on that day he records in his diary—

“I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.”

He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern, and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was an ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete.

On the 9th of July the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee—

Edward Carrington, of Virginia;

Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts;

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia;

John Kean, of South Carolina;

Melancthon Smith, of New York.

They sent a copy of the ordinance which had come over from the last Congress, to Dr. Cutler, that he might make remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, “and that,”

he says, "was better qualified." It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane "had no idea the States would agree to it," was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of the sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he "paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and, if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country." They urged him "to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to complete the contract." He records in his diary that Congress "came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation."

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution, with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing

with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself, on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler on to the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788, to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession, which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his handwriting. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country in her first great act of national legislation should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other Southern man who was present in 1787."

And let us remember with gratitude, on this anniversary, that when, in 1824, the plan to call a convention in Illinois to sanction the establishment of slavery there was defeated by a majority of sixteen hundred votes, it was to Governor Edward Coles, a son of Virginia, the old friend of Jefferson and Madison, that the result was largely due; and when, in 1803, the convention of the Indiana Territory petitioned Congress for the repeal of the sixth clause of the Ordinance of 1787, it was a Virginian voice, through the lips of John Randolph, whose name and blood are so honorably represented here to-day, that denied the request.

The Ohio Company might well dictate its own terms, even in dealing with the far-sighted statesmen of 1787. The purchase and settlement of this large body of the public lands removed from their minds several subjects of deepest anxiety. It afforded a provision for the veterans of the war. It extinguished a considerable portion of the public debt. It largely increased the value of the rest of the public domain. It placed the shield of a settlement of veteran soldiers between the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia and the most dangerous and powerful Indian tribes on the Continent. It secured to American occupation a territory on which England, France, and Spain were still gazing with eager and longing eyes—in which England, in violation of treaty obligation, still held on to her military posts, hoping that the feeble band of our Union would break in pieces. It removed a fear, never absent from the minds of the public men of that day, that the western settlers would form a new confederacy and seek an alliance with the power that held the outlet of the Mississippi. The strength of this last apprehension is shown in the confidential correspondence of Washington. He twice refers to it in his farewell address—once where he warns the West against “an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power,” and again, where he urges them “henceforth to be deaf to those ad-

visers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens."

Congress had nowhere else to look for these vital advantages if the scheme of Putnam and his associates failed. They, on the other hand, would buy all the land they wanted of New York or Massachusetts on their own terms. It is no wonder, then, that the Congress which in seven years had got no further than the Jefferson statute of 1784, and which had struck out of it the anti-slavery proviso, came in four days to the adoption of the Ordinance of '87 with but one dissenting vote.

It will not be expected that I should undertake, within the limits of this discourse, to dwell in detail upon the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 and the benefit they have conferred upon the region over which they have extended. Known throughout this country wherever American history is known, wherever men value constitutional liberty, they are familiar as household words to the men who are assembled here. They are, in some important respects, distinguished above all the other great enactments which lie at the foundation of human societies. If there be anything for which Daniel Webster is distinguished among great orators, it is the discretion and moderation of his speech. He never sought to create an impression or give an emphasis by overstatement. It was well said of him by another native of New England, whose fame as a great public teacher equals his own: "His weight was like the falling of a planet; his discretion, the return of its due and perfect curve." Mr. Webster declared, in a well-known passage: "We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

The founders of the Northwest and the framers of the Ordinance meant to put its great securities beyond the

reach of any fickleness or change in popular sentiment unless by a revolution which should upheave the foundations of social order itself. They made the six articles "Articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, to forever remain unalterable unless by common consent." They were to have the force which the philosophers of that day attributed to the original social compact, to which they ascribed the origin of all human society. Three parties, the original States, the new States, and the people, made the compact. This compact was to attend these communities forever, unalterable save by the consent of all three, under whatever new constitutional arrangements they might come. There is the highest contemporary authority for the opinion that these articles would never be affected by ordinary constitutional changes in the States. "It fixed forever," said Mr. Webster, "the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions." These great and perpetual blessings your fathers found awaiting them when they took possession of their new homes, beneficent as the sky, or the climate, or the soil, or the river, to endure so long as the sky shall send down its influence or the Ohio continue to flow.

While a portion of the second article reaffirms the great securities which are of English origin, and are found in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, the larger part are originally and exclusively American. The student of constitutional law will find there all he will need for an ample and complete understanding of the difference between the genius of the limited monarchism of England and the genius of American liberty.

For the first time in history the Ordinance of 1787 extended that domain from which all human government is absolutely excluded by forbidding any law interfering with the obligation of good faith between man and man. This provision, adopted afterward in substance in the Constitution of the United States, and thereby made binding as a restraint upon every State, is the security upon which rests at last all commerce, all trade, all safety in the dealings of men with each other. To-day its impregnable shield is over the dealing of sixty millions of people with each other and with mankind.

I have described very imperfectly the education, extending over two centuries, which fitted your fathers for the great drama to be enacted here. Equally wonderful is the series of events which kept the soil of the Ohio territory untouched until they were ready to occupy it. France, in 1755, rejected an offer made her by England that England would give up all her claim west of a line from the mouth of French Creek twenty leagues up that stream toward Lake Erie and from the same point direct to the last mountains of Virginia which should descend toward the ocean. France was to retain Canada and her settlements on the Illinois and Wabash. If this offer had been accepted, the French, who always so skillfully managed the Indians, would have filled the territory with their colonies, and, under whatever sovereignty it had ultimately come, would have impressed their character and institutions on it forever. King George, too, in 1763, at the close of the French war, forbade his governors in America "to grant any warrants of survey or patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest." This shut out the people of Virginia, with their slaves, from all the territory that now forms Ohio.

Again, the controversies between the States as to title prevented its settlement during the Revolution. The fear of Indian hostilities prevented its settlement during the

period Mr. Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 was in force. The votes of the Southern States defeated Mr. Jefferson's proviso, under which slavery would surely have gained a footing, and so left the way open for the total exclusion of slavery three years later.

We are not here to celebrate an accident. What occurred here was premeditated, designed, foreseen. If there be in the universe a power which ordains the course of history, we cannot fail to see in the settlement of Ohio an occasion when the human will was working in harmony with its own. The events move onward to a dramatic completeness. Rufus Putnam lived to see the little colony, for whose protection against the savage he had built what he described as the strongest fortification in the United States, grow to nearly a million of people, and become one of the most powerful States in the confederacy. The men who came here had earned the right to the enjoyment of liberty and peace, and they enjoyed the liberty and peace they had earned. The men who had helped win the war of the Revolution did not leave the churches and schools of New England to tread over again the thorny path from barbarism to civilization, or from despotism to self-government. When the appointed hour had come, and

"God uncovered the land
That he hid of old time in the west,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best,"

then, and not till then, the man also was at hand.

It is one of the most fortunate circumstances of our history that the vote in the Continental Congress was substantially unanimous. Without the accompaniment of the Ordinance the Constitution of the United States itself would have lost half its value. It was fitting that the whole country should share in the honor of that act which, in a later generation, was to determine the fate of the whole country.

We would not forget to-day the brave men and noble

women who represented Connecticut and Rhode Island and New Hampshire in the band of pioneers. Among them were Parsons, and Meigs, and Varnum, and Greene, and Devol, and True, and Barker, and the Gilmans. Connecticut made, a little later, her own special and important contribution to the settlement of Ohio. But Virginia and Massachusetts have the right to claim and to receive a peculiar share of the honor which belongs to this occasion. They may well clasp each other's hands anew as they survey the glory of their work. These two States—the two oldest of the sisterhood—the State which framed the first written constitution, and the State whose founders framed the compact on the Mayflower; the State which produced Washington, and the State which summoned him to his high command; the State whose son drafted the Declaration of Independence, and the State which furnished its leading advocate on the floor; the mother of John Marshall and the mother of the President who appointed him; the State which gave the general, and the State which furnished the largest number of soldiers to the Revolution; the State which gave the territory of the northwest, and the State which gave its first settlers—may well delight to remember that they share between them the honor of the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787. When the reunited country shall erect its monument at Marietta, let it bear on one side the names of the founders of Ohio, on the other the names of Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee, and Carrington, and Grayson, side by side with those of Nathan Dane, and Rufus King, and Manasseh Cutler, beneath the supreme name of Washington. Representatives of Virginia and Massachusetts, themselves in some sense representatives of the two sections of the country which so lately stood against each other in arms, they will bear witness that the estrangements of four years have not obliterated the common and tender memories of two centuries.

This, also, is one of the great events in the world's his-

tory which marks an advance of Liberty on the new ground which she has held. We would not undervalue military achievements. Such a paradox, ridiculous anywhere, would be doubly unbecoming here. We stand by the graves of great soldiers of the war of Independence. This is the centennial of the State within whose borders were born Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Garfield. The men of the Revolution fought that the principles of the Ordinance of 1787 might become living realities. The great captains of the later war fought that the compact might be kept and forever remain unalterable. The five States of the Northwest sent nearly a million soldiers into the war for the Union, every one of them ready to die to maintain inviolate the fourth article, which declares: "The said territory and the States which may be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made, and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled conformable thereto." These purposes inspired them when they drew their swords. They laid down their swords when these purposes were accomplished.

It is this that makes the birthday of Ohio another birthday of the nation itself. Forever honored be Marietta as another Plymouth. The Ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title deeds of American constitutional liberty. As the American youth for uncounted centuries shall visit the capital of his country—strongest, richest, freest, happiest of the nations of the earth—from the stormy coast of New England, from the luxuriant regions of the Gulf, from the Lakes, from the prairie and the plain, from the Golden Gate, from far Alaska—he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory. He will find there rich libraries and vast museums, and great cabinets which show the product



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of that matchless inventive genius of America, which has multiplied a thousand fold the wealth and comfort of human life. He will see the simple and modest portal through which the great line of the Republic's chief magistrates have passed at the call of their country to assume an honor surpassing that of emperors and kings, and through which they have returned, in obedience to her laws, to take their place again as equals in the ranks of their fellow-citizens. He will stand by the matchless obelisk which, loftiest of human structures, is itself but the imperfect type of the loftiest of human characters. He will gaze upon the marble splendors of the Capitol, in whose chambers are enacted the statutes under which the people of a continent dwell together in peace, and the judgments are rendered which keep the forces of states and nation alike within their appointed bounds. He will look upon the records of great wars and the statues of great commanders. But, if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, there is nothing in all these which will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers, whose characters were traced by the hands of the fathers a hundred years ago. They are original records of the acts which devoted this nation forever to equality, to education, to religion, and to liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other the Ordinance of 1787.

ADDRESS OF HON. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — The good fortune of the settlement at Marietta continues up to this very hour. We can congratulate each other upon the privilege of having heard the eminent Senator from Massachusetts. We can congratulate him, that he has connected his name for all the centuries to come with the most fortunate colonization that ever occurred on earth. Whenever hereafter, century after century, this ceremony and celebration shall be repeated, no one having anything to do, in a prominent way, with it will fail to read and enjoy, as we have enjoyed, the magnificent address of Senator Hoar. To be sure it leaves the task of those who are to follow him a most difficult one. We can say that in all the annals of the past no more fortunate history is to be found than that which began at Marietta a hundred years ago to-day. We can say that no body of men more fit by their origin, by their ancestry, by their history, by their own experience, and by their education can be found anywhere, ever have been found, to establish in a new country new institutions and make new States than those who did it here at Marietta, a hundred years ago.

These last few days, Thursday evening and yesterday, were almost entirely given up to Ohio. When anything good is to be talked about it is very well understood that the lion's share is likely to be claimed, at least, by the citizens of Ohio. We have learned, and learned, I think, with a peculiar pleasure, from Professor Putnam, of Harvard College, that away back in the obscurity of the unknown past that we can not penetrate, it was the long-headed race that succeeded and captured Ohio; that it was the short-headed race that were driven off from Ohio.

Of course, when we speak of the race who made this first settlement we must remember that it was not merely that magnificent district known now as Ohio, but it was the

old Northwest Territory, extending from Lake Erie along the boundary of Pennsylvania till it strikes the Ohio, passing down the Ohio till it reaches the Mississippi, passing up the left bank of the Mississippi, embracing the now beautiful city of St. Paul, passing westward with the Mississippi till it strikes Lake Itasca, away up and on to the Lake of the Woods, due north to the forty-ninth parallel and so following back by the course of the Great Lakes till it reaches again the northwest boundary of Pennsylvania at Lake Erie. This was the territory whose settlement began at Marietta a century ago—thirteen degrees of latitude down the Ohio to the Mississippi and up to Minnesota. Five great States, and one-third at least of the sixth grand State, Minnesota, belonged to the old Northwest Territory, and look back to Marietta as the place where their foundation began.

After all we have heard, I need not speak of its climate. It is a place that embraces the best part of the temperate zone in North America. In short, the best part of the best continent of the globe belongs to the old Northwest Territory. A climate in which men and women in the coldest weather of the winter and the warmest of the summer may healthfully work all day; a climate in which, all the world over, are to be found the most energetic people and greatest institutions on the globe. My friend has left very little to be said about it. He does not seem quite fully to have understood one thing which has happened, but living where I live, we understand it so very well that we begin talking about it in the morning; we talk about it at noon; we go to sleep talking about it, and we dream about it at night. There we found, and I do not know where else they will not find in the Northwest Territory, the best fuel the world ever saw. The natural gas in the Northwest fully equals any other gas. It makes the steam that carries the world along.

Then as to this people who settled Ohio, there is very little more to be said about them. But there is one addition I might make. Putnam and his followers were the best

educated men the world ever knew. For eight years, from 1775 to 1783, they went to school to George Washington. He was the master; in his hands during all that period were their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. All who know anything of the education given to the soldier understand that the character of the man who is leader during years of danger and of trial impresses itself upon every man, from the drummer boy up till in a few years they come to have the voices, the character, and the very virtues of the commander. Is it strange then that we think of the people who settled Marietta as the best people, for they were, indeed, but in miniature, George Washingtons, all of them. But I am not here to speak alone of the men—the women of that day had their full share in all things. When I found that I was to be one of those that were to follow the great speakers, using the language of Mr. Lincoln, I began to browse in my library to see what I could find that would not, perhaps, be found by any one else, and I found a letter, a part of which I will read to you. "Never," says one, "was the energy of a genuine sympathy more nobly expressed than by the matrons of the Quaker City in their relief of the soldiers during the dreadful winter of 1780. Mrs. Esther Reed, wife of General Joseph Reed, though feeble in health, and surrounded by a numerous family, entered with hearty zeal into the service, and was, by the united voice of her associates, placed at the head of the society. Mrs. Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, was also a conspicuous actor in the formation of the society, and in carrying out its plans. All classes became interested, and the results were glorious. All descriptions of people joined in the liberal effort, from Phillis, the colored woman, and her seven shillings and sixpence, to the Marchioness De La Fayette, who contributed one hundred guineas, and the Countess De Luzernè, who gave six thousand dollars. Those who had no money gave their labor, and in almost every house the work went on. It was charity in its best

form and from its purest source; the voluntary outpourings of the heart. The women of all parts of the Colonies emulated the patriotism and zeal of their sisters in Philadelphia." When we speak of the deeds of one hundred years ago, we are speaking not merely of what Putnam and his soldiers did, but of what the women of that day did, who had to bear, as they always do, the greatest sorrows, the greatest afflictions and hardships of war.

Something has been said of the stock from which these people came. My friend, the Professor from Cambridge, taught us another idea on that subject in regard to himself, that there are qualities in men and women that do not always follow the direct line. The doctrine is substantially this, that sometimes it will happen that when the children's teeth are set on edge it is not merely because the fathers and the mothers have eaten sour grapes, but because the uncles and the aunts and cousins have eaten sour grapes. So I have it to say that it is not the people who settled here at that time that have done all this for the Northwest Territory and for its noble institutions, any more than the people of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and, above all, Virginia, who have borne their part in our settlement, and also the choice blood of Europe, the German, the Scandinavian, and all the others who have come into it. We have its population and prosperity, and its institutions all nearer perfect than any community on the globe ever had before.

It was my fortune, during what I must say were the most honored, the happiest hours of my life, to serve very largely with those nearest to me who were the descendants of the men who settled Marietta. The counties of Gallia, Meigs, Athens, and Washington furnished the larger number of the men with whom it was my fortune to touch elbows during the great years from 1861 to 1865, and I must testify to you that the men of the Second Virginia Cavalry, and those of the Ninety-first Ohio, and above all, the men of the Thirty-sixth Ohio, were in every respect

worthy of the men who settled Marietta. What did they accomplish? My friends from Virginia, we return to you in full the gift that you made to us in 1787. That liberty which you secured to us by the Ordinance of 1787, we extended in the great conflict, from the Ohio clear to the Gulf, as far as the flag of the Union waves, and over every one of the fifteen States that for a hundred years and more had been cursed by slavery.

Therefore, my friends, it is with great satisfaction that I take part in this celebration, and I reverently thank God that it was my fortune to be near the men, descendants of the early settlers of Marietta, the early settlers of this part of the Northwest, in the work not merely of administering the ordinance in the country for which it was intended, but of extending it over the whole of the United States, and thereby making it the heritage forever of all representatives of civilization throughout the world.

THE GERMAN PIONEERS.

ADDRESS BY BERNARD PETERS, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: By the committee who have had the arrangements for these centennial exercises in charge, I have been requested to speak on this occasion of the German pioneers who settled in this county during the first half of the present century. The Governor of Ohio, who has just introduced me as a native of this city, must stand corrected in this particular. I am not a native of this city, nor of this State, but a native of Germany. I was brought here by my parents, into this county and city, at so early an age that, living among the New England settlers of Marietta from youth to manhood, they made me over into quite as much of a Yankee as though I had been born on the soil of Massachusetts.

According to my understanding of the matter, the first German settlers of Washington County came from the Rhine Palatinate. They came to the United States in the summer of 1833, from the vicinity of Durkheim, a little city of some 6,000 inhabitants, located in the gap of the Valley of the Isenach, a small stream flowing through the Hardt Mountains, and distant, due west, from Heidelberg about twenty miles. This is indeed an interesting region. Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay, years ago, while standing on the Geisberg eminence—a spur of the Black Forest just south of Heidelberg—and from which vantage he surveyed this beautiful and interesting landscape, pronounced it “the garden of Europe.”

The pioneers to whom this address will be chiefly devoted were two brothers, sons of John Peters and his wife Barbara (*nee* Wagner), who had reared a family of seven sons, and whose ancestors, from time immemorial, had lived and died in this section of Germany. The names of the pioneers were Jacob and Charles Frederick. I ought,

perhaps, to explain that Peters is an Anglicised form of the name. In German it is *Peter*. In this country, as in England, the name invariably takes on the letter s. My father's name was John Philip Peters, and he was the youngest of the seven brothers. He followed the pioneer brothers to this country in 1834.

The emigration of the Peters brothers to the United States was brought about in this wise. In 1832 there arose in the Palatinate and through the southern section of Germany a somewhat famous commotion among the peasantry, by which a demand was made of the then ruling authorities for a larger measure of liberty for the people. It was doubtless a preliminary symptom of the greater commotion that took place sixteen years later, in 1848, and which led to an actual and somewhat remarkable outbreak, but which was crushed with a relentless hand by Emperor William, recently deceased, who as Crown Prince made himself famous as a soldier by the energy and skill with which he made an end of the movement of '48. That insurrection furnished the inspiring cause for emigration to the United States to Carl Schurz and General Franz Sigel—the latter of whom subsequently distinguished himself in our civil war in the military service of this country, while the former became famous, somewhat in the war, but more particularly in the civil service of the country—first, in the United States Senate, afterwards as a Cabinet officer during the administration of President Hayes.

The revolt of '32, if it can be dignified by that name, was led by two professors and many of the students of Heidelberg, and for a short time it is said to have had an immense popular following. The professors in question were Wirt and Siebenpfeiffer. The *denouement* took place some time in the summer of '32, and came to a culmination at a popular gathering assembled at Homburg *auf der Hohe*, since then a noted watering place. At this gathering Wirt, the more popular and more eloquent of the two professors, made a speech in favor of popular

rights, in which, in scathing and fitting terms of rebuke, he denounced the tyranny of the government. At the conclusion of his speech, by a committee either of the students or of the citizens present, he was presented with a magnificent sword. This was ominous, and its significance could not be mistaken, and, as the result, either at once or soon thereafter, the offending professors were apprehended and thrown into prison, and the threatened revolt was thus summarily and promptly nipped in the bud. The imprisonment was of short duration. The professors were never brought to trial, as they soon escaped from prison. The popular impression was that the escape was connived at by the authorities in order to get rid of two popular prisoners, and to avoid the *onus* of their conviction and the sympathy which their execution would surely have evoked for them and their cause from one end of Germany to the other. The Peters brothers, who subsequently became the pioneers of Washington county, were constituent parts of that great Homburg Assembly. They fully sympathized with the spirit of the occasion, and being animated by the desire for larger liberty, which actuated the German masses at that time, and which the gathering in question represented, they were overwhelmed with chagrin and disappointment when the leaders of this movement were apprehended and imprisoned, and when the hopes that inspired their countrymen were thus promptly suppressed. As the quite natural result they, as did thousands of others of their countrymen, lost hope of ever seeing a better day for Germany.

Naturally, and as has been the case in every kindred event in Europe from that day to this, they instinctively turned their thoughts toward the New World and to the then recently established Republic of America, where, nearly a half century before, the people had secured their independence and had succeeded in forming and placing on a firm foundation one of the most beneficent governments hitherto known in the history of the world. The younger of

the Peters pioneers, Charles Frederick, left his native land in the spring of '33, a year after the gathering at Homburg. His brother, Jacob, followed a few weeks later. The third brother, John Philip, followed in the summer of '34. All the brothers, and the families who accompanied them, took shipping at Havre de Grace, in France, at that time the important port of embarkation for all South German emigrants. The first brothers, Charles and Jacob, shipped in vessels that sailed for Baltimore. From Baltimore, Charles Frederick, with his family, made an overland journey through the Cumberland Valley and on the National Pike to Wheeling, Va. This national highway, constructed chiefly through the influence of Henry Clay, was then in its glory, and was to that age quite as great a boon and quite as marvelous a wonder as were at a later period the transcontinental railways that now link the Atlantic coast to the Golden Gate. Charles Frederick left his family for a time at Wheeling, and proceeded down the Ohio River as far as Cincinnati on a prospecting tour. The present Queen City of the West was then little more than a good-sized village.

During the summer of '32 sickness had extensively prevailed throughout the Ohio Valley. Especially was this true of Cincinnati. The effects of the ravages of the cholera of 1832 were everywhere visible, and the inhabitants all more or less betrayed the signs of the work of this fell destroyer. In fact, the summer of 1833, when this visit took place, was not yet free from the seeds of the contagion that prevailed the year before. In addition to this, the heat of '33 is said to have been almost unendurable. Under these circumstances the visit to Cincinnati was discouraging, and Charles Peters soon returned to his family at Wheeling, where he found his brother Jacob and one or two other families who had crossed the ocean with Jacob, and who had followed Charles to Wheeling. Among those in this company, my impression is, were Theobald Seyler and Daniel Zimmer, with their families..

The Peters brothers now resolved to start on a new prospecting tour to find a place for settlement. They left their families at Wheeling with the new comers and started on foot down the Ohio River. They proceeded on the Virginia side as far as Benwood. There they crossed the river to what is now Bellaire, and proceeded down on the Ohio side, continuing, probably a five or six days' journey, to Marietta. During this journey they found not a single family, not a single person, if I am correctly informed, that could speak a word of German. Luckily the elder of the two brothers, Jacob, had, in early years, spent some time in England, and had acquired some little knowledge of the English language, and he was thus able, in a limited way, to make their wants known.

When they reached Marietta they put up at the John Brophy hostelry, the famous hotel of the early days of Marietta. The wife of Brophy was a French woman, born on the borders of Germany, and therefore spoke fluently not only the French and English, but the German as well. Mrs. Brophy was a shrewd and thrifty business woman of that period, and it was she that persuaded the brothers to locate in this county. Charles proceeded to Salem township, and purchased a farm on Duck Creek, in the neighborhood of the Lancasters. This some years later he sold to Jacob Lauer, and removed to Marietta. He resided here until 1839. He then sold what possessions he had and removed to West Point, Iowa, where he lived until he reached the advanced age of 86. His brother Jacob, went out some six miles to Fearing township and purchased a farm on the hills about a mile from Duck Creek, where he resided for some years. He subsequently sold this place and removed to Watertown township, becoming the first German settler in the Deming-Wolcott settlement. There he resided until he reached the advanced age of eighty-eight, when he was gathered to his fathers. His son, Charles Frederick, now in his seventy-first year, and who is present in this assembly, still lives.

upon this old homestead. He was sixteen years of age when his father moved into Washington county, and it is to him I am chiefly indebted for those facts that are beyond my personal knowledge.

In June of 1834, Conrad Bohl, of Wachenheim, also in the Rhine Palatinate, came into this county. For a time he owned a farm near Bonn, but a few years thereafter sold his interest and followed Jacob Peters to Watertown, where, some years later, his brother Nicholas came. These were the German pioneers in that section of the county. Still later these were followed to Watertown by Louis Cutter, the father of Judge F. J. Cutter, now a resident of Marietta, and by Carl Wagner, an uncle on the mother's side of the Cutter family.

John Philip Peters, Conrad Bissanz (Anglicised, at least in pronunciation, as Bissant), and Bernard Wagner came in 1834. Bernard Wagner bought a farm seven miles from here, on Duck Creek. He lived but a few months. Contracting a fever, he died suddenly in the winter of '35. The widow, left in a helpless condition, with two children, and no one to care for the farm, had the sympathy of the vicinage, and some months later married Christian Schimmel, a most conscientious and industrious man, who lived on the farm for a generation or more, in fact, till his death, leaving the wife a widow for the second time, but this time with children of advanced years, and in circumstances that enable her in old age to live in peace and comfort. She is living in this city with one of her sons, patiently awaiting her release from earthly bonds and trials. Conrad Bissanz bought a homestead a mile nearer Marietta in Fearing township, in the Chapman neighborhood, just beyond Stanleyville, where he lived and prospered for a full generation. He subsequently sold and removed to Marietta, where he died at an advanced age.

At an early period Valentine and Jacob Spies, two brothers, came into this county and settled on adjoining farms, on the banks of the Muskingum, just below Lowell.

For some years the home of one of the Spies brothers was quite a center for social and festive gatherings of the Germans then residing in the county. The occasions are memorable because they were the first festive gatherings among the Germans in this county of which I have any recollection. After the Peters brothers had bought their farms and had their deeds on record they left for Wheeling to bring their families to their new homes. While absent on this trip Rev. Theodore Schriener and one or two other German families came to Marietta. Schriener married a daughter of 'Squire Joel Tuttle, and organized the first German church in this county, of which he remained pastor for nearly a score of years. He was a very affable man, and made himself exceedingly useful to the early German settlers. Of the first settlers in Fearing township the following names have been furnished to me by Mr. Christian Best: Theobald Seyler, Christian Scherber, John Schneider, John H. Best, G. C. Best, and Christian New-schafer. The date of their arrival here is fixed as 1833. To these I may add the following names: John and Henry Smith. The first was the founder of the hardware store of Rodick Brothers. The other was a carriage builder, who is yet living. There were also Jacob and Michael Giddle. The first was wharfmaster for the Halls, Willis and Ely, for years, when steamboating on the Ohio river meant something. I may also mention Jacob Thies, the shoemaker; John and Louis Leonhardt; the Cislars, who have grown to be an important and prosperous family among you. I might here refer also to the able, eloquent and eccentric Dr. Ceolena, who was the first pastor of the First German Church in Marietta, and who, to the work of preaching, joined the business of practicing medicine, and who for a year or two made a great sensation and gained the good will of some of our best citizens, among them the family of the historian, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, a man of mark in those days. There were two others who deserve mention in this connection. These were Oliver

Nelson and Henry Hartwig. They spoke the German, one of them (Nelson) quite fluently, but they were Danes and not Germans. Hartwig was a blacksmith; Nelson was a carriage builder. Nelson married the eldest daughter of Conrad Bohl, of Watertown. The Hartwig family, after residing here for many years, removed elsewhere.

It is also claimed, on what authority I cannot say, that one Casper Schmitz and another German, Casper Schaecht-elein by name, came into this county in 1817. As far as my knowledge goes they left no descendants, and perchance may have made this county only a temporary home, removing subsequently into some other locality. I am sure that very early there were Germans in this county who came from Pennsylvania, but were natives of that State, speaking the Pennsylvania Dutch, and were not, therefore, German settlers directly from the Fatherland.

Others, perhaps, deserve to be mentioned in this connection; but as I have resided away from Marietta and have only paid an occasional visit here for the period of more than a generation, I think this will have to suffice.

In conclusion, pardon me for saying this, for truth and justice demand it: The Germans who came here early were men of thrift. They have shorn your hilltops of their wild native forests; they have converted your country into a land of plenty. They have materially helped to advance among you the march of civilization, and by their ready assimilation with those who preceded them to this Northwest Territory from New England they have helped to build up a State that ranks first among the honored States of this Union. I think I may safely and properly add that these Germans as a class have always appreciated the blessings of this free government, and have in a practical way demonstrated the fact that they have understood the importance of having all safe and good government founded on law and order, on religion and education.

These Germans — these early Germans — knew nothing of what is now disturbing this and other governments,

under the form of socialism and anarchy. They did not forget the lessons of duty and obligation that bound them to employers, and clamor for rights without qualification. They were indeed grateful to those who gave them a chance to earn an honest living, and they were ready early and late to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. The liberty they came to find, and finding which they were happy and content, was the liberty that is conditioned on law, on order, on good government—in a word, the liberty that gave them a fair and an equal chance in the race of life. Thousands of them, under these inspirations, have become men of property, have honored every calling and every walk in life, and have made their mark in Church and State—thus becoming worthy co-workers with that patriotic and sturdy Christian stock that came here from New England, and that planted an infant colony on this spot one hundred years ago this day, and here illustrated the wisdom of founding the State on the church and the school-house, and thus giving to their descendants a true and an abiding Christian civilization.

ORATION OF HON. JOHN RANDOLPH
TUCKER, LL. D.

The last decades of our century bristle with centennial anniversaries; the landmarks of human progress in the free institutions of a Christian civilization.

The Old World, with its crowded populations, with its social orders and castes, and its despotic forms of government was stagnant and unhealthful. Commerce reached forth its bold and eager arms for new fields for human enterprise and a larger and freer civilization.

Motives of gain mingled with religious fervor to plant the standard of European polity and the emblem of the cross on the soil of a new world.

We are near the anniversary of that great 1492, which turned the world upside down and doubled the domain of civilized life among men. Columbia opened her doors to European emigration. The glitter of the precious metals first fascinated the vulgar; but now millions of men with teeming golden harvests, and with fields white with their myriad bales of cotton, and with minerals and forests for light, heat and all the arts of life, feed a hungry, clothe a naked, and house a homeless world.

Three centuries ago the Spanish Armada sank under the storm of God into the British waters in sight of the reefs of Albion; and left England mistress of the seas.

In 1584 Edmund Spenser dedicated the "Faerie Queen" to "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland and Virginia;" and in the same year the Virgin Queen gave to Sir Walter Raleigh the charter to take and possess Virginia in her royal name. Virginia was rocked in her infant cradle to the sweet song of the master of English poetry.

But it was reserved for another reign to plant an English colony securely on American soil. During the memorable seventeenth century, when the conflict of prerogative and

liberty convulsed our mother country, in the month of May, 1607, when our tide-water region is fragrant with flowers and is clad in all the beauties of the opening spring, a few vessels came to anchor in Powhatan River, and a few hundred English colonists planted the first seeds of British civilization at Jamestown. Here on the banks of our Nile rested the ark of American institutions.

A few years later, in December, 1620, the pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, and raised the standard of civil polity based on popular compact.

These Colonists brought with them the spirit of British freedom, exalted in its courage by the bold temper which inspires and is enhanced by adventurous enterprise.

A new continent, without fixed institutions, without king, nobility, or ecclesiastical authority, was opened to the fresh impress of the sons of civilized life, who landed upon its shores. All the bands of the old and established society of the mother country were loosened, and the colonial mind, free from the environment of ancient prejudices, was prepared for an order of things more natural, and, therefore, more true. The scion of the ancient tree of liberty could better grow unchoked by the weeds of privilege and prerogative in the soil, and drinking in the balmy air of this virgin continent.

As Lord Bacon has it, "No tree is so good first set as by transplanting." Young and bold men—men tired of old habits, customs, and thoughts, yearning to throw off the restraints of an ancient and effete social order (as a religious reformation had shaken the foundations of the ancient Church), and to find full scope for the enterprises of life, and to impress themselves upon a new and unformed empire—these were the colonists that braved the rock-bound coasts of New England, and plunged into the untrodden wilderness of tide-water Virginia. They panted to be free, and could not be enslaved. They brought with them also a clear comprehension and vigorous grasp

of all the fundamental principles of liberty imbedded in Magna Charta.

These were asserted with emphatic distinctness in their public acts. As early as 1623, the House of Burgesses of Virginia enacted that no tax could be laid on any colonist but by the vote of the General Assembly. In 1636, the year of John Hampden and Ship-money, the Massachusetts colony made a similar declaration; and other colonies followed.

In 1651, when the fleet of the English Parliament invaded the waters of the Chesapeake, a treaty was made between the Commonwealth of England and the colony of Virginia, which is one of the most striking of the historic memorials of the colonial period.

It provides for the obedience of the colony to the Commonwealth of England, but that "this submission and subscription be acknowledged as a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the country."

It declares that Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly, and so that neither forts nor castles be erected or garrisons maintained without their consent." Thus by treaty stipulations in 1651, Virginia established the great principle on which the American Revolution was based — that taxation by any other than the representatives of the tax-paying people was unlawful and contrary to liberty.

I present this action of Virginia and Massachusetts especially to you, because the men who settled here a century ago were the sons of New England, and planted their feet upon the soil which Virginia gave to the Union. The principles of freedom I have stated were the inheritance of Putnam and his followers, and were the fixed law of the land of Virginia on which they made their homes. When, therefore, in May, 1764, Samuel Adams and his co-patriots, and in May, 1765, Patrick Henry and his associates had denounced taxation without representation as tyranny

and against law, they but reasserted a principle as old as Magna Charta and the precious corner-stone of every colonial government. It was the canon of the settlement of 1688, two centuries ago in England, as a result of the struggle between the people and the House of Stuart, culminating in the constitutional monarchy under William and Mary.

Mark the epochs of the centuries: America discovered in 1492; Virginia's birth-song written by Spenser in 1584, the prelude to English colonization in America; the English Constitution established in 1688; our own in 1788; and we to-day celebrate them all on the natal day of the inheritance of the Northwest, under the donation of the Old Dominion, by the Pilgrim pioneers from New England. The pendulum of history swings in centuries—in the slow but sure progress of the human race to a higher and nobler civilization.

When the British Government asserted, in the Grenville act, the power to tax the colonies, it made a fatal issue with them upon a principle which was too sacred and fundamental to be surrendered; and a conflict of arms was inevitable. When power invades liberty, resistance to the wrong is a duty to God, and the forces of government must be challenged by the people with all the armed force they can command. The special matter of taxation was the occasion of revolution, but the time had come when taxation by a foreign power was regarded only as a symptom of a more general and chronic disease—namely, the subjection of the welfare of any people to the will and control of another nation.

Self-government—independence of alien control in all things—was the need of the American colonies, which was illustrated in the matter of taxation, but which was equally important in all their relations, domestic and foreign.

No people can be governed by another, alien in sympathy and with no community of interest, without misgov-

ernment and tyranny. Hence the view of the statesmen of the period broadened into a deep conviction, that longer dependence on the British crown was virtual servitude, and that independence was essential to liberty, development and progress.

The Continental Congress of thirteen colonies met September 5, 1774. Two years of futile efforts to patch up the breach which tyranny had made in public confidence and in popular affection passed away, and the declaration of complete and final separation was unitedly made on the famous 4th of July, 1776. The loose and inorganic league between the colonies represented by Congress, whose powers were held under a tenancy at the will of each colony, made its efforts to conduct the war pitifully inefficient — and they would have resulted in failure but for the impulses of popular patriotism; the masterful genius of a majestic leader — that hero of equal mind in the shock of defeat as amid the shouts of victory, — and the generous co-operation of a great and noble ally. Congress proposed in 1777 to the colonies a plan of organic union under the articles of confederation, which, however, were never adopted by all the States until March 1, 1781, and by their express terms were wholly inoperative until all had consented to them.

A brief view of the colonial condition is now necessary, as well to appreciate the obstacles to this organic union as to show the relation of all these historic references to the event we celebrate to-day.

Prior to the seven years' war between Great Britain and France, which ended in 1763, the three powers of Great Britain, France and Spain held possession of all the territory now included in the United States and Canada.

France owned Canada and Louisiana, which covered a claim to the region west of the Mississippi to the Pacific. Spain owned Florida; and Great Britain held the whole region to the Mississippi, and with a claim beyond to the Pacific, which conflicted with that of France.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, France ceded Canada, and Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain; and the boundary fixed between Great Britain and France was the Mississippi River, *ad filum aquæ*, from its source to the Iberville, thence through that river and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.

The effect of this treaty upon colonial rights, especially in Virginia, can now be readily understood.

By the charters to Virginia of 1606, 1609 and 1611, she claimed from Point Comfort two hundred miles north, which would bring it to about the fortieth parallel, and the same distance south upon the Atlantic coast, and backward, west and northwest to the sea—that is, the Pacific.

By the treaty of 1651 between the Commonwealth of England and Virginia, already referred to, it is provided “that Virginia shall have and enjoy the ancient bounds and limits granted by the charters of the former King.” The terms “West and Northwest” were always held to include beyond the fortieth parallel, and to embrace Michigan, Wisconsin, and all the portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois north of that parallel.

These bounds and limits, fixed by the three charters and confirmed by the treaty with the Commonwealth of England, made Virginia, in the extent of her domain, an empire in herself. But the treaty of Paris (1763) made her western boundary the middle of the Mississippi down to $36^{\circ} 30'$, her southern parallel, after the grant to the Carolinas had been made, which she recognized and ceded by her constitution of June 29, 1776.

When by that constitution, on the 29th of June, 1776, Virginia assumed to be a free and independent State, she rightfully asserted her jurisdictional claim to the boundaries fixed by the charters and modified by the treaty of Paris of 1763.

This splendid domain, which embraces what are now

eight States of the Union, containing 350,000 square miles, with a present population of 15,000,000, was the rightful empire of Virginia with which she entered the league of 1774 and the confederation of 1781.

I am aware that questions were made as to the title of Virginia to this domain; but they originated in a natural jealousy of her stake in the success of the revolution and of her preponderant power in the counsels of the Union, had she retained it.

But all question of her title was at rest when, with just and magnanimous hand, she gave to all an equal share with herself in this inheritance which was all her own. Jealousy was suppressed and the cavils of her rivals were silenced when, with a self-abnegation as rare as it was noble, she surrendered all to the Union and afterwards sealed the Ordinance of 1787, which excluded her own people with their slaves from the territory she gave for the benefit of others.

Much was said at one time as to the title claimed by some parties and companies and even States under purchase from the Indians. That pretension never availed at any time, but met with signal condemnation in the masterly and unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court in *Johnson vs. McIntosh*, (8th Wheaton, 543,) where it is established as a part of the American polity, that the European race by discovery and conquest hold the pre-eminent right of pre-emption of the Indian title, which excludes the right of any one, without the consent of the sovereign power, to gain any title from the Indians as against the sovereign of the territory.

But the title of Virginia stands on a higher ground than her chartered grant. Her statesmanship conceived what her military genius achieved, the conquest of the territory for herself in order that with free hand and heart she might give it to the Union.

Some time after the treaty of Paris (1763), France ceded Louisiana to Spain, and thus placed Spain in the posses-

sion of the mouths of the Mississippi River, and of the west bank of that river to the middle thereof in its whole length, with a claim by Spain (never sound under international law) thereby to shut this outlet to the Gulf against all the people inhabiting the country on its east bank, and on its northern tributaries, the Ohio River and others.

The obstruction of the Allegheny mountains to commerce between the Western territory and the Atlantic seaboard, with only the natural outlet of the Mississippi for the products of the Western settlements, made this claim of occlusion of the Mississippi by a European power one of the gravest questions for American statesmanship at that period; and Virginia, with her claim to the Mississippi River, including Kentucky south of the Ohio River and this Northwestern Territory north of that river, saw very clearly its importance, and therefore urged with persistent vigor the recognition of the free navigation of the Mississippi to the public seas. One other view of the situation is most important. If the United States could not secure to the Western people a free Mississippi navigation, the temptation of private interest might seduce the people of the West to abandon their Eastern allies, and seek the protection of that European power which could open the Mississippi to their commerce—a suggestion which threatened the Union itself. Spain had, early in the Revolution, declined to join France in aiding the American colonies, and urged, as a precondition to joining any alliance with the United States, that the latter should renounce the free navigation of the Mississippi, and limit their western boundary to the Allegheny mountains. Virginia instructed her delegates in Congress, in November, 1779, to obtain in the then pending negotiations with Spain the free navigation of the Mississippi to the seas, with easements on the shore and at the mouth for the Western commerce. This condition of affairs will explain the pre-

vious sagacious action of Virginia, to which I will now call attention.

George Rogers Clarke was born near Monticello, Albemarle county, Va., in 1752. With slight education (as appears from his letters), he became a practical surveyor, and after campaigning a short time against the Indians in Virginia, he went to Kentucky in 1775, from which he, as its delegate, came to the convention of Virginia, at Williamsburg, in 1776, and urged upon the authorities the creation of the new county of Kentucky and a supply of ammunition for its defense. "A country not worth defending is not worth claiming," was his laconic appeal.

Patrick Henry, the first Governor of Virginia, as sagacious and prophetic as a statesman as he was a master of eloquence, seconded his plans; and Clarke started back with five hundred pounds of powder, which he carried by land to the Monongahela, and thence to a point near Maysville, Ky. He repelled the Indians from that vicinity, and sent spies into Illinois, and on their return early in 1777 hastened back to Virginia to lay his plans before the authorities for the conquest of Illinois.

An act was passed authorizing the Governor and Council to organize an expedition "to march and attack any of our Western enemies." (9 Henn. Stat., 375.)

Governor Henry placed a band of a few hundred men under this dauntless projector of the enterprise. With it he crossed the Allegheny and descended the Ohio in frail boats to Corn Island, near Louisville, where he erected block houses, drilled his men and planted corn. On the 24th of June, 1778, while the sun was in eclipse, he went down the river, landed at the old Fort Massac, marched six days across the wilderness and appeared before Kaskaskia, and took it on the 4th of July, 1778; and then pushed on and captured all the other British posts on the river. And thus by a blow, without serious loss, he planted the standard of American authority on the bank of the great Father of Waters.

The English Governor, Hamilton, at Detroit, was alarmed, and on December 16, 1778, retook Vincennes on the Wabash. Clarke accepted the issue thus tendered in brief words: "I must take Hamilton or he will take me."

With about 170 ragged, but brave heroes, he, in mid-winter, crossed the country with scanty food supplies, waded rivers, and appeared with his unerring rifles before Vincennes, and on the 24th of February, 1779, captured the governor and garrison. In the meantime, by act of her Assembly, Virginia had organized the county of Illinois, embracing all the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, which included this city of Marietta, (9 *Hen.*, St. at Large, 552). A resolution was passed thanking Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clarke and his body of Virginia militia for reducing "the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth on the River Mississippi and its branches; whereby great advantages may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth."

This romantic chapter in the revolutionary war I present not only for its historic interest, but because it settled the question of our Western boundary; and pushed it beyond the Alleghenies to the Mississippi river. All glory to the Virginia militia and the military genius of their heroic leader, who, under direction of Virginia statesmanship, broke the machinations of a diplomacy which would have made your anniversary impossible, and given up the valley of the Mississippi to a European power!

I am tempted to give you a letter written by this remarkable man to the Governor of Virginia from Kaskaskia on the 3d of February, 1779, when he had determined on this last adventurous enterprise. Its orthography is defective, but he made his mark! in deeds, not words.

After describing the attack on St. Vincent "by the famous Hair Buyer, General Henry Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of Detroit," he says that he had "every peace of intelligence" he desired from a Spanish gentle-

man who had "escaped from Mr. Hamilton." And then, after stating the forces and the cannon and so forth, that Hamilton had, he quaintly adds, "has no suspicion of a Visit from the americans — this was Mr. Hamilton's circumstances when Mr. Vigo left him." He says that having no expectation of any reinforcements, "I shall be obliged to give up the country to Mr. Hamilton without a turn of fortune in my favor;" and then adds, "I am resolved to take advantage of his present situation and risque the whole in a single battle! I shall set out in a few days with all the force I can raise," "amounting on the whole to only one hundred and seventy men," a part of whom were to go "on board a small galley, which is to take her station ten leagues below St. Vincent. If I am defeated, she is to join Colonel Rogers on the Mississippi." "I shall march across by land myself, with the rest of my boys; the principal persons that follow me on this forlorn hope is Captains Jos. Bowman, John Williams, Edward Worthing, Richard McCarty and Francis Charlovielle, Lts. Richard Brashear, William Kellar, Abm. Chaplin, John Jerault and John Bayley, and several other brave subalterns. You must be sensible of the feeling that I have for those brave officers and soldiers that are determined to share my fate, let it be what it will. I know the case is desperate; but, sir, we must either quit the country or attact Mr. Hamilton. No time is to be lost. If I was shoar of reinforcements I should not attempt it. Who knows what fortune will do for us? Great things have been effected by a few men well conducted. Perhaps we may be fortunate. We have this consolation, that our cause is just, and that our country will be grateful, and not condemn our conduct in case we fall through; if so, this country, as well as Kentucky, is lost."

Can we wonder that, in the lexicon of that youth of twenty-six years — this Hannibal of the West, as John Randolph called him, — there was no such word as fail! And that because he did not, we are here to-day to cele-

brate the settlement, one hundred years ago, upon this soil, a part of that county of Illinois rescued forever from British control by the gallant men whom Clarke led to victory in 1779!

But at that moment the organic Union was not yet formed. Some of the States insisted, and Maryland most obdurately, that all the States should make cessions of their territory to the Union. And there were many acts of an inimical character done by Congress and some of the States to the title and claim of Virginia. Some of these were based on the counter claims of States under purchase from the Indian nations, and some by certain corporations under like purchases. It would be useless to revive the memory or to discuss the merits of these claims.

In September (6), 1780, Congress recommended to the several States to make liberal cessions to the United States of a portion of their claims for the common benefit of the Union. In response to this, the States made cessions; and Virginia, on the 2nd of January, 1781, did yield "all right, title and claim which the said Commonwealth had to the territory northwest of the river of Ohio," subject to certain conditions. The State of Maryland, which had delayed until this was done to agree to the articles, now acceded to the articles of confederation, March 1, 1781, and thus the organic Union of the thirteen States was for the first time established.

A long and angry conflict of opinion continued in Congress for several years as to the acceptance of the proposed cession of Virginia, in which a jealous doubt of her claim was manifested, but on which she stoutly and indignantly insisted. A reference to these is unnecessary.

The ground of objection to her title seems, as I have already said, to have been judicially settled by the judgment in *Johnson vs. McIntosh* (8th Wheaton) by a unanimous court. Finally, on the 13th of September, 1783, a report was adopted in Congress to accept the cession of

Virginia upon six conditions named by her in the original proposal of January 2, 1781, two of her conditions being declared to be unnecessary.

Accordingly, Virginia, by an act passed December 20, 1783, agreed to cede her territory upon the conditions indicated by Congress, and authorized her delegates to execute a deed for the same to the United States.

Finally, upon the 1st of March, 1784, Virginia, by her delegates in Congress, tendered her deed of cession according to the said act of December 20, 1783. In opposition a petition of Colonel George Morgan, agent for New Jersey, and on behalf of the Indiana Company, was presented. A motion to refer it was lost, as also a motion to appoint a court to determine the respective rights of said company and of Virginia.

Congress then, by solemn vote, agreed to accept the deed, which was on the said 1st of March, 1784, executed, delivered and filed, signed by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, the delegates of Virginia.

The conditions imposed in this cession were that States (not less than 100, nor more than 150 miles square) should be formed out of the territory, which should be distinct republican States, "having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States," and to be "admitted members of the Federal Union;" that the expenses of Virginia in subduing British posts and for the defense or in acquiring any part of said territory should be reimbursed by the United States; that the citizens of Virginia in Kaskaskia, St. Vincent and other places be confirmed in their titles; that 150,000 acres be granted George Rogers Clarke and his men who marched with him to reduce Kaskaskia and St. Vincent; that so much land be allowed between the Scioto and Miami Rivers for Virginia troops as shall be sufficient for the purpose, and that all other lands in the territory be "considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United

States as have become or shall become members of the Confederation or Federal alliance of said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.”¹

By the treaty of peace, 1783, Florida was ceded by Great Britain to Spain, and France having previously ceded Louisiana to Spain, the latter power owned both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth, and the free navigation of the Mississippi became a grave question for our infant diplomacy. If the occlusion of the Mississippi by Spain was submitted to, the Western country would have been shut in by the Allegheny range from the Atlantic seaboard, and from the sea by Spain, with the key to the Gulf in her hands.

I remember when a young man, before the Allegheny mountains were tunneled for railways, that the difference between the price of flour at Baltimore and Wheeling was two dollars, and that as you descended the Ohio River the difference decreased. That is, the free navigation of the Mississippi, the outlet for the West, was its best hope to reach the markets of the world. What a hopeless condition, had the door to the outer world been locked by an alien power!

I can say, with pride in the statesmen of Virginia, fortified by the generous tribute of Senator Hoar in his oration this morning, that they led persistently in the demand for a free Mississippi. Other States seemed at times to think their commercial interests might be benefited by shutting the Mississippi, and obtaining a monopoly of Western trade through their territories to the Atlantic. But all such thoughts finally gave way to the resolutions of Congress, September 16, 1786, “that the free navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essen-

¹ A very full history of these matters may be found in Report 457 to the House of Representatives, the first session of the Twenty-eighth Congress.

tial right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such."

Despite the cession of Louisiana to France by Spain in 1801, American statesmanship triumphed in the assurance of free access to the markets of the world through that great estuary by the splendid acquisition of Louisiana under the administration of Mr. Jefferson.

And so, from the day that the mountain heights of Monticello stood as sentinel guards over the cradled infancy of George Rogers Clarke and Thomas Jefferson, Providence had decreed that the one should conquer by prowess in arms, and the other by a wise diplomacy, the open water highway for the products of the West to the markets of the world.

Nor is this all that I claim for the State which gave this territory, where, one hundred years ago, your Pilgrim fathers founded the seat of Northwestern civilization.

In 1784 I find that Virginia, by an act of her Assembly, granted to James Rumsey, of Shepherdstown (now in West Virginia), the exclusive right to navigate her rivers by boats constructed to move up stream. James Rumsey built a boat which moved up stream by the power of steam before 1790. And the young feet of my venerable mother trod the deck of that wrecked and rude barge before the year of 1800.

It is a matter of deep interest, further, to read the letters of George Washington and his cotemporaries in this decade a century ago, urging the water lines to the eastern base of our mountain ranges, and up the waters of the Potomac and the James; that thus they might approximate the navigable waters on the western slope, and bring by waterways the products of the West to our Eastern ports. The idea was in their prophetic minds. Its realization awaited the inventive genius of those who have made ironways a substitute for water, and who make the prediction true, that every valley shall be filled and every moun-

tain be laid low, for the march of man to his highest destiny under the Providence and blessing of God.

The title and security of the domain for American colonization having been thus placed by the donation of Virginia under the charge of the organic Union, formed by the Articles of Confederation, the materialistic view of the question may be dismissed.

The question remaining for Congress was the settlement and government of the territory. As early as June 5, 1783, and before the final acceptance by Congress of the deed from Virginia, Theoderick Bland, seconded by Alexander Hamilton, proposed an ordinance in Congress for the regulation of the territory ceded by Virginia; it was referred to a committee, but was not acted on. On the day the deed was executed by Virginia, March 1, 1784, Mr. Jefferson reported from a committee a plan for the government of all the Western Territory from the southern boundary of the United States at 31° latitude, to the Lake of the Woods. This ordinance, in Jefferson's handwriting, provided for a temporary government until the population increased to 20,000 inhabitants, when they might institute a permanent government with a member in Congress to debate, but not to vote. And when the population increased to that of the least populous State of the Union, then to be admitted into the Union.

Five articles were added:

First—The new States to remain forever as members of the Union.

Second—To have the same relation to the Union as the original States.

Third—To bear their proportion of burdens.

Fourth—To have republican forms of government.

Fifth—Slavery shall not exist in said Territories after 1800.

This did not abolish slavery, but forbade its existence prospectively, and had it been adopted would have forbid-

den it beyond a north and south line running along the the western boundaries of the then States of the Union.

This fifth article was struck out of the report because not adopted by Congress, the vote being six States for it and three against it, one State not voting, and one divided. The ordinance was then adopted, with the exception of that article, and continued in force for about three years.

Meantime the movement for a Federal Convention, to revise the articles of confederation, resulted in its meeting in May, 1787, in Philadelphia. During the session of that Convention, Congress had under consideration the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern territory. A company called the Ohio Company had been organized upon a plan projected in Massachusetts by a number of resolute men (many of whom had been heroes of the Revolution) as early as March, 1786. Rufus Putnam, Winthrop Sargent, Manasseh Cutler, John Brooks, and Benj. Tupper were principals in the movement. In March, 1787, a meeting of the subscribers was held in Boston, and Putnam, Cutler, and Samuel Holden Parsons were elected directors to apply to Congress for a purchase of land in the Northwest.

It is of interest to state that Washington warmly seconded the movement of Putnam and others, who were his trusted associates in the army, and that La Fayette spoke of them and their plans with French enthusiasm.

On the day, May 9, 1787, the ordinance for the Northwest territory was ordered to its third reading, Parsons presented the memorial of the Ohio Company. It was referred to a committee composed of Edward Carrington, Virginia; Rufus King and Nathan Dane, Massachusetts; Madison, Virginia, and Benson, New York. Cutler arrived on July 5, and placed himself in immediate communication with Carrington, chairman of the committee. A report was made on July 10, allowing the purchase by the company.



OHIO COMPANY'S OFFICE, BUILT IN 1788.



MOUND IN MOUND CEMETERY, MARIETTA.

The ordinance for the government of the Territory was referred to a new committee—Edward Carrington, of Virginia, as chairman, Nathan Dane and others. This ordinance in its new form, and without any clause as to slavery, was reported on the 11th of July, 1787, and Congress proceeded to consider it. On its second reading, Dane (Mr. Bancroft thinks at the instance of Grayson, of Virginia, and others) moved the clause forbidding slavery and providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves, which was adopted by the votes of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts—all the States then present—Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maryland absent. There was but one member—Mr. Yates, of New York—who voted in the negative. Immediately thereafter the purchase by the Ohio Company was perfected. Thus the ordinance to govern the Territory and the scheme for its colonization at this place were almost contemporaneous, and stood related as cause and result.

Of that celebrated Ordinance of July 13, 1787, some observations are appropriate to this occasion.

The ordinance may be summarized thus:

1. Equality of heirship to a decedent between his children and kindred of both sexes. This was according, as well to Massachusetts law, as to that of Virginia in her legislation under the lead of Jefferson in 1776-7, but there was a saving to the citizens of Virginia in Illinois of their laws and customs relative to this matter.

2. A government was provided of Governor, Secretary, and Judges, to be appointed by Congress, with power to adopt such laws of the original States as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances, subject to the approval of Congress.

3. When there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, a Legislature is authorized. The Legislature is to be composed of Governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly.

4. The legislative power is limited by the provisions and principles declared in the ordinance.

5. As fundamental articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in said territory, unalterable but by common consent, six were ordained in substance as follows:

First—Religious freedom, and civil rights not to be dependent on religious belief; a principle embodied in Jefferson's immortal act for religious freedom, passed in Virginia on the 16th of December, 1785; and engraven on his tomb, by his direction, as one of his three titles to the remembrance of mankind.

Second—Habeas corpus and jury trial, proportionate representation in the Legislature, and judicial procedure according to the common law; deprivation of life, property or liberty only by the judgment of peers or law of the land; just compensation to be allowed for private property taken for public use; and no power by law to interfere with or affect private contracts.

Third—As religion, morality and knowledge are necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, schools shall be encouraged. Good faith to the Indians is enjoined, and legal protection to them and their rights.

Fourth—The States formed from said Territory to remain forever a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America—to bear their proper share of public burdens—to lay no tax on the lands of the Union, nor interfere with the disposal of the soil of the United States, and the navigable rivers leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence to be common highways, forever free to all the people of all the States.

Fifth—Three at least, at most five, States to be formed out of the Territory, as "soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same"—and each of them to be admitted when it shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants, on an equal footing with the original

States in all respects whatever, provided its Constitution be republican and consistent with the ordinance.

Sixth—"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; *provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This ordinance, which for the validity of the fifth article was in its terms conditioned on the consent of the grantor, Virginia—and upon that of no other State—was a clear and complete recognition by Congress of the justice of the title of Virginia, and her supreme right to insist on the original conditions in her grant, unless she waived them.

And the terms of this fifth article described the territory as to which Virginia's consent was asked, as extending from the Ohio to the northern boundary between the United States and Canada, thus embracing what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. And this was done by the votes of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York, the only States who had ever contested the claim of Virginia previously. This is a virtual estoppel of all the States to a denial of Virginia's claim. Accordingly, Virginia, by her act passed December 30, 1788, declared her assent to and ratification and confirmation of "the said article" (being the fifth) "of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory."

I am free to say that in my judgment not only that act ratified and confirmed the fifth article as to the number of the States to be formed out of the territory, but by confirming it as "an article of compact between the original States and the people and States in said territory"—of which compact Article Sixth, forbidding slavery, was a part—she must be deemed to have consented to the exclusion

of slavery from the territory she had previously granted to the Union.

She could have done it herself before her grant. And when her grantee did it with her privity and by her vote in Congress, and she consented to another article of a compact without dissent from this anti-slavery clause, she must be held to have assented to the latter, and is estopped to dissent thereafter. Nor was such exclusion contrary to her well-defined policy. She had, in her colonial history, protested against the slave trade, and, in the preamble to her constitution of June 29, 1776, written by Mr. Jefferson, had, in nervous and emphatic terms, arraigned George III for "prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us, those very negroes, whom by an inhuman use of his negative, he hath refused us permission to exclude by law." And in the following month (August 25, 1787), in the Federal convention, after her son George Mason had denounced it as "this infernal traffic," she voted to put an end to the slave trade in 1800, which was postponed to 1808 by the votes of the New England States (New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut), and Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

And while she voted against the Jefferson clause in 1784, which forbade the extension of slavery into the territory south as well as north of the Ohio River, she was willing, from climatic as well as other reasons, to forbid its extension into the territory north of that river.

And now the domain for free colonization under law, and with the inspiration of religion and education, is ready for the adventurous emigrants. The Old Dominion has granted it—the Union has accepted it—and the sturdy sons of Massachusetts, under Rufus Putnam, with her polity, civil and religious, braving the wilderness and the winter, land and plant their feet upon the spot where we stand to-day. Six States only on the 7th of April, 1788, had ratified the new Federal Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787. You took pos-

session under the Articles of Confederation you hold now under the Constitution of 1789. You pioneered the Northwest, and others followed. The forty-eight immortals at Marietta a century ago are succeeded by fifteen millions of people from every section of the Union in the Territory covered by the Ordinance of 1787. The poverty of the unsheltered and hungry group of that day must be honored in the memories of that mighty mass of millions who now fill the land, they took into possession, with palaces and institutions of learning; with churches of the ever-living God; with teeming harvests of the earth and mines of inestimable wealth, and factories filled with the busy hum of manual industry; and above all, with the intelligent love of liberty and law and religion under the Constitution of our fathers, to be consecrated by our devoted lives and defended to the death against all who would prostitute its sacred provisions to the purposes of private gain, to the behests of ignoble factions or for the promotion of base and selfish ambition.

For to you and to me, and to all within the broad limits of this great Union, the inheritors of the constitutional liberties of our fathers, come the solemn questions to-day: What will we do with it? Shall we waste or save our heritage? Shall the motive influence of our life be the mere expansion of national power, and the accretion of national wealth? and shall we pervert all we have inherited or acquired to an effeminate luxury, to a sordid ambition for riches or power, or to the destruction of our free institutions? Let us rather take our inspirations from the hardy, simple, heroic and devoted men who, fearing God feared nothing else; who erected here and everywhere in our land altars to the true God, founded schools for their children, established institutions of law and liberty, and consecrated homes of economy and industry, of a pure morality, of genuine and exalted piety.

Our duty is plain, as our danger is great. Our danger is in one word, irreverence—irreverence to the simple vir-

tues and exalted honor of our fathers, irreverence to God, irreverence to the constitution ordained by them under the Divine guidance, and in the conservation of which we have become a mighty power on the earth. Our duty is veneration for all that is noble and great and pure, for God and His religion, for our fathers, who, in sincere and simple faith, feared nothing but to do wrong by disobedience to the Divine commands. And what we specially need, as citizens of this great Republic of republics, is to study with earnest diligence the principles of our free institutions; to hold him an enemy of the country who derides fidelity to the Constitution, and trifles with his solemn obligation to uphold it; who would use the power of the government to promote personal or party ends; who stirs up the bitterness of buried strifes, and engenders sectional or class conflicts among the people of the Union; and who does not hold it to be his best and noblest civil duty to uphold and defend the Constitution in all its integrity against all the temptations to its violation by the corrupting influences which surround us.

The time has come, in this period when centennial anniversaries summon us to look at the genesis of our being as a people, to examine and study the general principles in the development of which a century has passed, and to mark wherein we have departed from the law of our organic life. That law is this: That a written constitution is the supreme law for government and for men, unchangeable by either, except in the mode it has ordained—supreme in the conscience of President, Governor, legislator, judge and citizen—not a constitution of growth and evolution from the exigencies of an advancing civilization, by the sophistries of ingenious men, or in obedience to their caprice or corrupt desires or greedy avarice; not a law one thing to-day, another to-morrow; but, to apply a well known passage: *Omnes gentes et omni tempore, una lex, et sempiterna et immutabilis.*

It is to this solemn duty I venture to call the sons of

New England and Virginia, and of all the States, here and elsewhere, now and always. Let the descendants of the sturdy men, who, here and elsewhere, laid this foundation stone—this elect, tried and precious corner stone for our free institutions, the absolute supremacy of a written constitution—bring us back to a higher and more healthful atmosphere of thought and feeling. Let us make this Union so strong under the faithful observance of the Constitution which made and conserves it as our greatest blessing; so strong in the affections and devotion of the people that not only none shall be able to destroy it who would, but that none would do so even if they were able. Believe me, the bond of reverential love is stronger than that of force, and I think the South would say to-day that, though she could not dissolve the Union when she would, she now would not if she could.

The decree has gone forth—**THAT THE STATES CANNOT DESTROY THE UNION! AND THE UNION MUST NOT DESTROY THE STATES!**

I congratulate the people of Ohio, and especially the descendants of the Pilgrims, whose heroic fortitude planted this colony a century ago, on this auspicious anniversary. Let a review of the past purify and stimulate us to follow the noble example of our ancestors; and, with hearty reverence for the God of our fathers, and veneration for the constitutional work of their hands, may we transmit the inheritance we have received to our posterity, so that, in the centuries to come, and to the remotest generations, this great Federal Constitution may be a light to the world, and secure the blessings of a free and Christian civilization to this American Union of self-governed States forever. To such a union, under such a constitution, let us swear eternal fidelity, and pray, with united hearts, *Esto perpetua!*

LETTER OF HON. GEORGE B. LORING.

READ AT THE CELEBRATION BY R. R. DAWES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 5, 1888.

SIR: I have been requested by His Excellency, Governor Ames, of Massachusetts, to represent that Commonwealth at the Centennial Celebration of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, at Marietta, Ohio. I regret exceedingly that at a late hour I am compelled to deny myself the pleasure of being present on the occasion. I feel it to be my duty, however, to express the interest Massachusetts feels in the event you celebrate, and in the prosperity and welfare of the community occupying this spot, on which her citizens found an opportunity for the exercise of their heroism, their wisdom, and their Christian philanthropy.

It is evident to us, who can look back over the eventful years which have passed since Marietta was settled, that upon the principles incorporated in the State and society then founded, depended the fate and fortune of the Republic just then coming into existence. The people who had achieved the independence of their country by the Revolutionary war were destined to occupy almost the entire continent, of which their territory formed but a small part. The strip of land between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic was entirely unequal to their purposes, and the government they had founded was so vigorous in its character, so broad in its design, so peculiar in its construction, that it was not to be confined to a narrow and limited section of the continent on which it was planted. To extend the limits of its territory and to extend its jurisdiction over all the land and waters, which were important to its existence and power, was the early work of the founders of the Republic. By purchase and treaty this was accomplished until the title to the vast territory of the Northwest was

settled, the mouth of the Mississippi was secured, and the coast line extended, unbroken, from the eastern border of Maine along the ocean and gulf to the Mexican possessions. On this wide territory the work of building the Republic began; and, upon the form of civilization which should prevail in this Republic, depended its vigor, and elevation, and prosperity, and power,—its vital form and its commanding position among the nations of the earth.

Of all this territorial acquisition, the Northwest presented the field especially adapted to the existence and growth of manly human powers and of ambitious Christian communities. It was evidently the spot towards which the founders of the Republic turned with high expectations and exalted hopes. Jefferson, who had inspired the thirteen colonies to strike for national independence, and who believed in human equality and the power of human aspirations, selected this great territory, which his own State had bestowed upon the Union, as the area over which the doctrines of his immortal Declaration were to be extended; and he laid the foundation for that Ordinance of freedom which became a part of its organic law when the town of Marietta was founded.

Monroe, and Rufus King, and Pickering, and Arthur Lee hoped to found here a cluster of free States. Washington watched their efforts with great solicitude. In his youth he had traversed the mountains and prairies of that region and had swum the rivers which watered the vast domain. To its civil organization his mind had been devoted from the days of the Revolutionary war. And when the enterprise and restless energy of the sons of New England sought for new land on which to plant the institutions of their fathers, they turned instinctively to the territory lying beyond the Ohio as that in which they could find a home.

When, in 1883, I had the honor of addressing the citizens of Ohio, on this spot, and on an occasion similar to this, I reminded them that “with the exception of the

landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, there is no event in history which so strongly marks the power of man's independent spirit, his devotion to human right and his faith in a government based on the consent of the governed, as does this planting of the sons of the Pilgrims and Puritans on the soil of Ohio." They carried with them the spirit which animated Massachusetts in the beginning, and which animates her to-day. Manasseh Cutler and his brave companions took with them the education of the New England school house and the religion of the New England meeting-house. They had learned their lessons of economy and thrift on the hard soil of Massachusetts: they had been inspired by the orators of the Revolution, Adams, and Otis, and Quincy; they had been roused by the heroism of Bunker Hill; they had inherited the qualities of a defiant, freedom-loving, God-fearing ancestry. And when they went forth Massachusetts sent her blessings with them, and she has never forgotten that their descendants are bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh.

My associates and myself have been delegated by Governor Ames to bear her blessings to this community, and to convey for her all that affection that a mother feels for her children.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

JEWETT PALMER, Esq.,
Director Centennial Celebration,
Marietta, O.

GEO. B. LORING.

REMARKS OF HON. SAMUEL F. HUNT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is certainly not my purpose, in this unexpected call, to disturb the very agreeable impression which was made by the scholarly oration of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. For historical research, for analysis of fact, for application of principles, for beauty of diction, it has rarely been surpassed; and I may say that no less instructive was the oration of the gentleman from Virginia.

In the name of the people of Ohio, I may say that they reciprocate this sort of patriotism; and Ohio, like Virginia, hereafter will look to the Federal Constitution as the pledge of perpetual union.

It is very interesting to trace the beginning of a civilization, and to follow society in its formative state. I was greatly impressed by the allusion in Senator Hoar's speech to the victory of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. It has not been emphasized enough. It was one of the most momentous of the hours of history. It determined whether or not the institutions of the Germanic or English-speaking race should dominate hereafter in the great Central States in this valley. He crowded the action of centuries into a few minutes, and he filled his life with lustre, although his sun went down before it was day.

That civilization we are to-day—that one hundred years of results; the elements which have produced it are found in the organic law which has blessed the people. Those results are found, first in the religion and the morality which have emphasized all the legislation of this civilization during this hundred years.

The Ordinance of 1787 declared for religion and morality. The Constitution of 1802 declared for religion and morality. The Constitution of 1851 declared for religion and morality. Righteousness *does* exalt a nation; and to-day our civilization is marked by the church spires,

whose bells mingle with the melody of the birds; a civilization which has gone in parallel lines across a continent from the Eastern shores to where California, with her sun-capped diadem, sits, Empress of the Pacific.

A second instance of this manifestation is, that there has been evidence of respect for law. One of the first evidences to-day in this State is that Campus Martius, where the first court was opened in the Northwest Territory, and from which has gone out the system of jurisprudence, which has blessed the entire valley. The organic law has been supplemented by legislation of a legal character, until nowhere in all this nation to-day, will you find legislative enactments which better protect home, life, and property than do the legislative enactments which are the protection of life and liberty in these great States born within the Ordinance of 1787.

As a result of it, two of the men breathing this atmosphere have occupied positions on the Supreme Bench of the United States; the length of life allotted to them would not justify altogether that magnificent eulogy which Lord Erskine said of Mansfield; but the manner in which they discharged their duty merits this to these honorable magistrates who have so long presided in this great tribunal that the younger among us have no other recollection than of them as the form and figure of justice.

Reverence for the law must exist. There are demagogues in every community who can create a storm, but there are few like Cromwell who have the power to suppress it. The government to-day consists in preserving us from disorder and in strangling the strong clutch of public opinion, the Catilines of public life.

There is one fact which, above all others, I think should have been recognized—that declaration that the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence should forever remain free to the people of these States. It was that idea which thundered in every gun from the Mississippi to the sea in the late war. It was that idea that was seen

in the blazing camp-fire of the regiments of men who hewed their way from the ocean to the gulf. Not all of them returned. Some of them sleep in the church-yard of Shiloh; some of them sleep in the Wilderness; some of them rode to their death with Sheridan in the Shenandoah; some of them perished in the martyrdom of prison life, looking only to the stars for hope. If we forget them in this centennial—if we forget them—then may God forget us.

And now I say to-day: Freedom itself must be protected from the perils around it by the same fearless spirit. It will need the help of the strong and the stalwart in every part of the country; and in the spirit of generous magnanimity for all parts of the country.

Let us look now only to the future, with the sublime hope that God will save the nation, save it from the men who are dishonest, save it from the designs of men who would destroy it; and help us as He helped our fathers, so that religion and piety and truth and justice may be maintained among us for all generations.

ADDRESS OF REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTY, FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: I certainly shall detain you but a very few minutes. I am speaking only because I am commissioned by the Governor of Massachusetts. We think our State has spoken very well here to-day already.

Massachusetts sends her hearty congratulations to you, and, as Dr. Loring says, "Massachusetts does not forget her children, her grandchildren, and the children of her grandchildren." Indeed, they say, kindly or unkindly, that Massachusetts does not forget any of her brethren wherever they may be; and when they are such as she looks upon so proudly here, why should she forget them? Why should she forget them?

There is a single contribution which the Governor would ask me to make, I think, to those lessons for the future that we have been speaking of, which have been taught in all her history. It has been her fortune since 1620, when, unfortunately, there was no one else to speak for the rights of men; it has been her fortune that, when there has been any speaking for men, either in commemoration of victory, or in prophesying fight, her speakers should be among the first called forth, and it shall continue to be so in days to come.

It happened that it was Manasseh Cutler who was to be the one who should call upon that Continental Congress to do the duty which they had pushed aside for five or six years. It happened that this diplomatist succeeded in doing in four days what had not been done in four years before.

What was the weight which Manasseh Cutler threw into the scale? It was not wealth; it was not the armor of the old time. It was simply the fact, known to all men, that the men of New England would not emigrate into

any region where labor and its honest recompense is dishonorable.

The New England men will not go where it is not honorable to do an honest day's work, and for that honest day's work to claim an honest recompense. They never have done it, and they never will do it; and it was that potent fact, known to all men, that Manasseh Cutler had to urge in his private conversation and in his diplomatic work. When he said, "I am going away from New York, and my constituents are not going to do this thing," he meant exactly what he said. They were not going to any place where labor was dishonorable, and where workmen were not recognized as freemen.

If they had not taken his promises they would not have come here; they would have gone to the Holland Company's lands in New York, or where Massachusetts was begging them to go—into the valley of the Penobscot or Kennebec; they would not go where labor was not honorable.

That has been the principle of the men from Massachusetts from 1620 to this moment, and it will be taught to their children for all time. It becomes us to say this.

I have been approached again and again and again by gentlemen in Louisiana and Texas who said, "What can we do to induce your hearty New Englanders to come down into Louisiana and Texas?" and I always answer, with a little laugh, "You would like some of our good capital." "Yes," they say, "but we would like your men, the good old New England stock, on our savannas and prairies." The answer is, "The men of New England are not coming to the most beautiful savannas, the most fertile prairies, if thereby any taint upon honest industry rests upon them—if there is anything disgraceful in honest work; and the capital of New England will never be invested where there is no honest security given—whether it be by the blackest slave or the whitest laborer who chooses to employ that slave on his plantation."

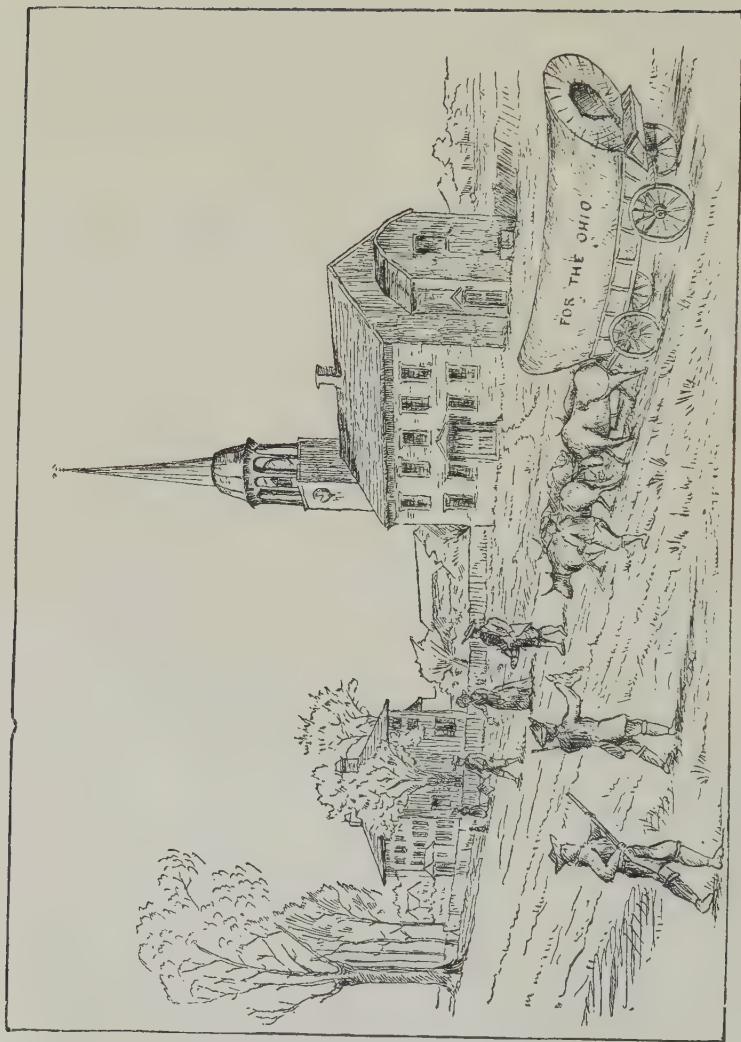
"Men are born equal;" these were the words of Jefferson; these were the words which were put into the Bill of Rights of Massachusetts. That has been taught all the way through by all her children, all her representatives, all her acts.

Foreign writers do not understand it. I have hardly known a writer in England, or, indeed, on the Continent, who seems to understand it. They think we owe this wealth and prosperity to the rich river bottoms of Ohio, and that when these are exhausted the resources of wealth are exhausted. Or they say that it is due to the mines of the country. Tell me of what use were the mines, or of what use the river bottoms, as long as those long-headed people, of whom Professor Putnam told us, were here? How many people did the Shawnees feed when they had possession of these river bottoms? Did not this same natural gas, of which they speak, flow under us then? Were not the same coal fields here?

It is not your silver; it is not your gold; it is not your coal, or your iron, or your lead; it is not your gas that makes our wealth. It is the men who control these elements of nature and call them into being, and it is the women who go with the men to make the homes for them.

That is the lesson which America is teaching to the whole world; and out of that we will come to learn that lesson of political teaching that is not understood except as a certain theory about the government,—that there are certain natural advantages which it seems that God Almighty has seen fit to give to this part of the world.

Abraham Lincoln used an expression in his first message which was laughed at by many public writers and noticed much in Europe. It was not so much noticed here, because we knew it was true. They looked at it as a piece of bombast—a piece of gross exaggeration. Mr. Lincoln said there was many a regiment which he sent to the front in 1861 from which he could have chosen every member of his cabinet, every officer he needed in the administra-



Dr. Cutler's Church and Parsonage at Ipswich Hamlet, 1787. The Place from which the First Company Started for the Ohio, December 3, 1787.

tion of the country, and the country would have been well served. He could have picked out these men from every regiment. We know it was true.

The same thing might be repeated,—it is not a mere matter of pleasantry; it is simply a square fact, and I undertake to repeat this statement now, and here.

Suppose, in the great crisis of next fall, the country, in determining between two citizens of Ohio as to who shall be the next President, should choose Senator Thurman, or suppose they should choose Senator John Sherman. Sitting here, either of them might look around upon this audience which I am addressing—might take out his note book and jot down every one of his Cabinet, every Judge of the Supreme Court, every commissioner, every member of his diplomatic corps to represent him abroad—and you know he would be well served.

A country that is served like that in what we are pleased to call the higher walk of its administration, which is served that way in every walk, which is served the best way in every demand—is the one which will find its workers when these great resources are to be developed. Whenever it needs anybody, the right person comes to the front.

How does that happen? Because of your matchless system of schools; because of your Declaration of Independence; because of the Ordinance of 1787; because every boy or girl, though born in a log cabin, though left an orphan in babyhood, shall grow up to whatever place his spirit, his ambition, his desires may lead him. That is the secret of the wealth of America, and that secret is not to be found in mere physical advantages.

How did these people come here to found this great empire, and what made the empire prosper? Was it the encouragement received? Look at your literature and newspapers of that time, and you will find that through the Eastern coast the enterprise was ridiculed. I can show you caricatures of the people coming back from

Ohio—poor, and where statements were made against their going to this wilderness.

Robert Livingston, after he had bought Louisiana, said: "I know we have paid a terrible price, but I can have the price back; I have told them that there will no man cross the Mississippi in the next century." So much for the wisdom of a wise man.

But the rank and file—the men who were your grandfathers, and the women who were your grandmothers—these crossed the Alleghenies, and they made the new America. Always, since this country has come into being, the people have been in advance. It was the people who raised up and sustained John Quincy Adams, when the statesmen would have put him out of the Senate of the United States. It was the people who took the matter in their own hands and reconstructed the Union so it will stand forever as it is; and it is for you and me, in our congratulations of to-day, solemnly to pledge ourselves, before the altar which we call holiest, that this people shall be recognized always; that the rights promised shall be kept; that the people shall stand as the rulers of this great nation—given the absolute supremacy, under the law of God, through a government "of the people, for the people, by the people."

ADDRESS OF HENRY M. STORRS, D. D.

DELIVERED SUNDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL EIGHTH.

Isaiah 35:1. "The wilderness shall be glad for them."

THE pioneers and founders have done their work and gone. They have left us material and tools. We are to enter into their labors and carry forward their work. I make no apology for naming as our subject that nation which they founded, as it was, and is, and shall be,

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, A SOURCE OF BLESSING.

Your flint, dry and hard, is found to have its molecular activity. Granite is mobile. The ear held close to the dead earth in winter hears the million wheels on which spring is coming. A nation is never still. Your "unspeakable Turk" is no longer the Turk of Bajazet. "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar;" but your Russian peasant of to-day is less a Tartar than was Peter the Great in his time. The England of Victoria is not the England of Elizabeth; the America of A. D. 1888, not that of A. D. 1788. Constant interior activities, constant exterior changes have been going on to make this nation well nigh another people. Our early history, though so near, is already remote. Of all nationalities most fluent, we are ready to say, "Let the dead past bury its dead," and to relegate the seventeenth, eighteenth, and larger part of the nineteenth century to the care of any convenient undertaker. Have we not already entered upon a time when graver questions impend, and more gigantic forces are swiftly coming to the front?

Some men are anachronisms—coming before or after they are wanted. St. Paul describes himself as "one born out of due time." But these men seem born out of any time. Deaf when their names were called they woke up one or more centuries out of adjustment. Strangers and

foreigners to their own age, they flit through life—shadows of the Forgotten. Clinging to a dead Past they present right angles to living issues, and are ridden down by that *Zeitgeist* which drives nations forward. Like Niebuhr, they are more at home in some ancient Rome than in their own town and time.

It belongs to these memorial occasions to review that Past, when great foundations were laid, and to gather up its lessons of patriotic wisdom. We cannot afford to miss the animating inspirations which come upon us from a history like that belonging to the settlement of Marietta, A.D. 1788, and the unbroken movement of free and powerful empire from this point. They feed the fires of patriotic devotion. They create inextinguishable faith in the imperishable vigor of national life. The historical orations and addresses already delivered here have profoundly impressed this fact upon our minds. But now from the height of their great argument are we not summoned to make some study of that which is, and that which shall be?

Confessedly, there are difficulties in grasping this broad American Life; for, first of all, it is formative and not fixed. It has taken no final shape. There is a certain humor in listening to foreigners taking our gauge and announcing their judgment. They come over to "do America" in six weeks. When they report we are not surprised to find that they were "done" in most cases. "I confess," said a distinguished teacher in one of the larger Eastern universities—a ripe scholar and an author of distinction, native, to our manner born, and yet of wide foreign travel—"I confess I never felt the American throb until I came this side the Alleghanies and entered Ohio." What, then, of these "six-weeks" runners? But such a man as Chief Justice Coleridge, with the modesty of a judicial mind, and after much longer stay, says: "I do not feel that I understand America altogether. I have had glimpses into its life, and must speak with hesitation." And Herbert Spencer, with

some months of close study of this nation behind him, is forced to say substantially: "I have a very imperfect knowledge of America. I saw some things in your national life, and I have fixed some points from which I shall hope to observe and understand it better hereafter."

But, besides this baffling vastness and elusive changefulness, there are manifold contradictory forces at work in it. The story was that the same Mayflower which brought the Pilgrims to the shores of New England afterwards brought slaves to the shores of Virginia. Were the story true, it would not unfitly represent what has been going on from the first—this commingling in rapid succession of "all sorts and conditions of men." True at the outset, it has been doubly true in our own day. Varieties of blood, varieties of thought, varieties of morals, religion, language, discrepant, discordant, divergent, have been finding equal home in the great body, and this immensely increases our difficulty in any effort to grasp the whole, or reach anything like a complete and determinate judgment of the American people.

But, while recognizing this diverse complexity, we still assert a certain clear individuality, a discernable and proper unity that in the end dominates all differences. It was objected, when German was proposed as an addition to the school curriculum in one of our cities, that "our people have the English tongue, and want no other taught in the public schools." "That is an open question;" replied the German element in the Board, "the nation, it is true, at first drew most largely from English loins and came with English tongue, but now it is drawing from other sources, and other tongues are coming. What we want is a language into which all tongues shall have brought their best, and which, when formed, shall be neither English, German, French, Scandinavian, nor Italian, but *American!*" That speaker, in ceasing to be a German, had not become, and did not intend to be "English," but "American." There is something real behind that. The local type is softening

its rigid and exclusive lines. The New Englander, forgetting that he was born east of the Hudson, merges into the greater whole. The Southerner—now that the war has rubbed out slavery's barbaric civilization—will soon forget his former self-isolation and suffer the capitalized North to melt into his wide pocket as snowstorms do into the gulfs off Hatteras. North and South, East and West, Atlantic shore and Pacific slope, are fast becoming vibrant with one common life—"the American throb."

It has been very happily said that "America was God's great charity to the human race." He gave it in the fullness of time to the suffering millions of older countries. First settled, it has ever since continued to be settled by "the poor." The birth-throe of this nation was the effort to make a home where the humbler classes might give to God a type of man grander and nobler than had ever been; its birth-motive, to create on a new continent, amidst unimpeded areas, a race better in opportunities, better in results, tenderer, truer and wider in sympathy, loftier in spirit—a race showing at length God's ideal of man organized into a nation!

"Mankind has poured itself abroad here and is in its shirt-sleeves at work; slovenly, down at the heel, without much polish, awkward, but with a sort of unbuttoned comfort in its look," says our poet-philosopher. But that idea of God is being wrought out. The amalgam here is of the finest. The nations have been sending us of their best. In these last forty years we have incorporated out of the Old World well nigh 15,000,000 citizens—mostly young, vigorous, thrifty, determined in purpose, positive in ideas, great-souled, looking forward to a brave future and resolved on it—and they have gone into the rich life of this people.

The ancient civilizations, one after another, died out for want of such fresh blood. Assyria dwelt unfed on the fat soil of the Euphrates and Tigris, and soon perished where she stood. Egypt incorporated nothing from abroad and soon fell prone along her Nile. Greece followed. Her

grace and beauty availed nothing. Hemmed in by geographic or political, ethnic or social limitations, which excluded re-enforcement, there was no escape for her. Christian faith had not come; and only fresh blood could have even stayed the end.

Our later civilizations have been better fed. Five times has England been soaked and saturated with foreign inundations. Again and again has the original Kelt of France been recruited and vitalized by such enriching floods. Rome itself had not fallen could she have absorbed the Gothic blood. But how is our own nation taking in, without stint or pause, the best blood of the best races to expand and perpetuate its life! We have room for it all. You cannot grow an oak in the parlor vase. The vase shivers, or the oak dwarfs. England has her "Greater Britain" beyond the seas. You set your geranium, pot and all, into the rich garden loam, and presently you wonder at its immense growth. Your cunning plant, nature-wise, has found the water hole of its prison, and through that sent out roots to feed from all the soil beyond. England's roots have gone down into Australia, India, Africa, America; have penetrated the whole world's loam, and are sucking into herself whatever it can give. We need not thus go out of ourselves. The world comes to us. Our vase is no parlor affair.

We have but to look at this vast and continuous absorption of fresh blood to see how greatly we must be changing the very tissue of our people. The volume of it far exceeds the entire mass of barbarism that swamped the Roman Empire, and our original Pilgrim Father, Hollander, Huguenot, Cavalier, Quaker, Covenanter, is fast disappearing under the flood pouring in at every open port. Of the nearly sixty millions now making our white population, more than one-third are those, or the immediate descendants of those, whom the nation has sucked up into itself from without in less than a quarter of the century we are here to commemorate and review. Our larger

cities are under their control. "You do not get into America, on coming from Europe, till you get beyond the pavements," said Wendell Phillips with fine irony. "These are foreign cities on American shores." Hardly less is true of some powerful Western States. These citizens of foreign extraction are taking possession. Diffused everywhere, especially through the North and West, they are found to be thoroughly armed, not with the artillery of physical subjugation, but with views and faiths, covering the whole field of human life, which they mean to defend, propagate, and, if occasion require, impose on the nation. Our "American Sabbath," as we call it; our intelligent Protestant worship; our religious foundations of social order; what are these to them? Ingenious and powerful minds are among them; educated intelligence, wide knowledge, mental acumen, sagacity and skill in reaching popular thought, intense purpose, and, withal, a sensitive and strong spirit of clanship through the whole mass. Is it possible to absorb this vast amount, not only of foreign blood, but of thought and faith so widely variant, much of it in open hostility to all that had been held, without undergoing vast changes in the process?

Is this, then, another invasion of the Goths thundering at the gates? Is our American national individuality to perish, submerged beneath this vast un-American material? We need scarcely fear. Our country keeps open door to the East, a wide hearth and a plentiful table. Within little more than eighty years we have added enough area to cover all Europe as with a blanket, tucking it in at the sides. China, too—that great goblet, brimming with humanity, so full that she might spill fifty or a hundred millions of her people without careening from the level—will, perhaps, be coming to us. If the Providential hour for it strike, who shall hinder? And still, though "Mongolian" be antipodes of "American," we are confident that we have a something—the very essence and characteristic of our national individuality—too well defined, too

staunchly enduring, too strong and positive to be destroyed.

Europe is broken into fragments. Differences of language, faith, political organization—rigid and well nigh invincible alienations—separate its people; solid walls of bayonets divide its life. But on this vaster western area our nation, clinging to itself throughout with the cohesive power of Divine purpose, goes forward to its one splendid aim, with a prophetic zest that allows no division and tolerates no lagging. A great and eager mutual sympathy runs through the whole body. The telegraph is swift; the telephone instant. We speak across the continent; we think through space. The Alleghenies are no hindrance; the 'Rockies' no check. But that spirit of sympathy, quicker than light, is forever present through every part, binding the whole nation into one by bonds which cannot be broken, and filling it with a great common life which cannot die.

But there is yet another migration which arrests our thought even more than this. The age is fermenting with topics of highest moment. American mind is being fed and modified, not only from its own soil, but from abroad. Every foreign university, every solitary thinker, every workingman's club, every industrial Union is sending over daily fresh consignments. Nations now gather to the cradle of any new-born thought—wherever it may first see the light or utter its cry. More impalpable, these children of the mind, than aerial currents; more unfettered than the light! The freedom of cities, countries, ages, is theirs without a vote. They seem invested, so soon as born, with something akin to Divine Omnipotence!

In the dark days of the Rebellion, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, sent out strong inducements to immigration. But thought waits for no encouragements. It comes unasked. Our libraries are crammed with foreign consignments beyond the shelves of any importing merchant. The productive thinking of our times has been stimulated beyond

all precedent by unexampled discoveries changing the conditions and faiths of men. Has any result been kept at home? Have not our people thrown every port open to new facts or faiths, and then wrought them eagerly into our very fibre?

Take physical science alone; do we fully measure its effects in changing human conditions in the time since this region was settled? We find ourselves momentarily waiting on scientific discovery, as one of the most powerfully modifying causes at work on human life. Nothing in the whole circuit of modern fact is more striking than this outburst of a new revelation. The great volume of God's physical work had but few and barren chapters for our fathers. No one was found to open the book or loose the seven seals thereof. Do we realize that Copernicus, for example, had not yet brought out the new astronomy which was to organize the stars for us, when De Soto was entering Florida; that Galileo had not yet found the wondrous tube that was to touch our eyes with supernal vision, nor Kepler laid into human hands those threads of sidereal law now guiding our swift feet through otherwise trackless skies, when Virginia was already being settled; that the Anatomy of the human frame had not yet gone far enough, when the Pilgrims were landing at Plymouth, to show the circulation of the blood; that it was still a full century later when Botany took helpful shape; a full century and a half before Electricity began its career, or modern Chemistry was at work; that Geology was just struggling into existence when those first Ohio pioneers were turning the prow of their "Mayflower" at this point into the mouth of the Muskingum; or that the whole body of related or dependent physical science is the fruit of the hurrying years since that date? To those brave and hardy men this glorious universe of matter was little else than a hard, round, unsightly thing, wherein evil dwelt, and soon to be burned up forever. To us, it stands an almost infinite Geode, broken open, and from its million crystal points

light streams, and divinest law, for the bettering of human life and the enriching of its soul. It would seem, indeed, that well nigh the whole mass of this helpful modern knowledge had sympathetic birth with our nation — both of them children of Liberty returning to earth.

We may well take time, in this connection, to consider what and how strong an education this nation has been steadily acquiring. One of our best living thinkers defines "education" to be "not a dead mass of accumulations, but power to work with the mind." Your unlettered mechanic may have that, and your best bred college man none of it. On that definition the American people must be regarded as strongly educated. Matthew Arnold says, "They see clear and think straight." Our masses have tense brain. They are impatient of twaddle. To a certain extent they are "mind readers." They forestall slow reasoning and reach ends by short cuts. We may well confess that in the Fine Arts and the higher literature; in the mastery and handling of Philosophy; in the broad and successful solution of government finance or the best adjustments of society, they are often sadly crude in what comes from the discipline of a broad and thorough knowledge. But this does not touch our point, that, taken in the mass, this American people has been educated "in power to work with the brain" beyond all example. Indirectly we have fine recognition of it from those asking not long ago, "Who reads an American book?" Your Charles Dickens, Thackeray, Stanley, Kingsley, Farrar, Matthew Arnold; your great singers and actors; your novelists, poets, philosophers, and statesmen of the other side now feel vastly securer of solid place and fame when they have passed the ordeal of our national judgment.

Many things have wrought for this result, the great class of economic reasons and necessities taking a foremost place. Poor at the outset, our nation was thrust out into the wilderness to scuffle for its life. It had a sharp, severe struggle for bare existence. Everything was to be created,

and it had only its bare hands. The New England settlers were a type. They skirted a barren shore and thrust rugged roots into bleak rocks. It was hard schooling in a dreary school-house. The soil was stern, the air sour, the outlook dark. What remained but to put brain to hard work? From that hour along the whole stretch of advancing settlement, this nation has been fertilized by brain brought from fields of toil; it has never known ease. When the surmounted Alleghanies flung onward from war-encircled flanks those first pioneers down into the "dark and bloody ground" of this Great Valley; and then the now tamed prairies lifted them onward from their broad bosoms up into the canons of the Rocky mountains, and these, now hammered, and picked, and crushed in quartz mills, in their turn threw them still further onward to the shores of our hindermost sea,—what is the whole story, from first to last, but that of brain-taxing, and brain-educating work?

But coincident with this we find another set of forces working to the same end—this vast system of public instruction founded by the pioneers and cherished by their children. Here the American people are being trained, not on the perverted theory of creating blind submission to authority, but on the great, developing, Protestant principle of unembarrassed and urgent inquiry into the reason of things; of largest freedom to question, to doubt, to explore—this liberty to blaze my own path to any North Pole I may choose to hunt in search for truth and life. It is this which yields a nation strong to do its own thinking, work with its own brain, and trust its own conclusions. Even woman is leading the way in new and in old paths. The very boys and girls are guiding our eyes to unsuspected stars. Your university-bred man is only in the upper form of this wide public school, and often the grades are separated by nothing more than a dim and vanishing line.

What the school begins, the Press—whose daily blanket-sheet is the poor man's fresh volume—carries forward; and

what the press might fail to do, our system of popular government carries yet further. The national mind gains immense vigor amidst this perpetual discussion of the gravest possible questions. The town-meeting educated New England. But, since the nation began, there has been no hour when the whole mass of its citizens have not been summoned to act upon the highest and gravest questions of public economy and public justice. The great Indian question began at our origin, and is not yet settled. The slavery issue followed—far more vital, far more complicated! “It tore the nation,” you say. Yes, but did far more in *educating* it. The tuition was costly, but for that education no fees could be too heavy. On all such issues as they come every man must have his word; every citizen will have his vote, and, because he must speak and will vote, he must have his thought; and the tremendous power of such an education on our people up to this hour no man can measure.

Some one may ask, “whether these and other forces, contributing to make the nation what it has come to be, will not, from this time, diminish in power.” Will they not increase rather?

Take those coming from the *economic* side, for example,—have our last possible gains been made in that direction? We “have been subjugating Nature.” Are we much beyond the hither margin? Has not each conquest so far simply opened our way to another, and higher? We travel by steam. Very good! But is the steam car our finality? We talk over electric wires. But is this the best from science? Nature is being prodded to give us something better. Our people will have Nature’s last secret, and wrench every force from her hand. What shall be the fruit of all this on mental life? History brings this word from her portfolio—that broadened mind forever comes from physical conquest. Mind makes discovery; but discovery and the effort for it makes more mind. The Crusades were a huge effort for Europe. But in breaking

Asia open Europe wrought out her own expansion. She widened yet more in opening and subduing this continent. Room was created in herself for a wider civilization when Columbus burst the barriers of western seas, brought back a new world, and anchored it off her shores. It is Law, not accident, that mind shall feed on the spoils of matter, and more still on the effort to get them. How much lies before us in this direction, who can tell? But the instinct for it is in the air. All men are musing in their hearts—and such musings, what are they if not a divine prevision making sure their own fulfillment?

The century since this town was founded has been a busy one for our nation in *politics* and *government*. In that time, so narrow as it is—little more than a single pulse beat in any national life—we have founded and matured these great, complicated, but now harmonious systems of local, State, and National government; we have vindicated a commanding position among the nations; we have made treaties and established commerce with every considerable people on the globe; we have organized revenue and finance; we have added immense areas to our territory; we have conducted great wars at home and abroad, in every case to a successful issue; we have absorbed not only neighboring states but immigrant nations; we have confronted the Indian question in various aspects, and extirpated that of slavery; we have created unexampled armies and quietly disbanded them; we have made enormous debts and showed how they can be paid without oppressing labor or capital; we have demonstrated that a great free people—electing its own rulers, making its own laws, and administering its own vast power—can spread over a whole continent, with varied and often conflicting interests, and yet live in a compact unity under a written constitution, maintain liberty, secure justice, and stand in strength; while, at the same time, it holds its doors wide to the incoming of an incongruous world!

And not less busy has this century been in the depart-

ments of *education, morals and religion*. Beginning with nothing, we have brought into active existence that wonderfully adjusted system of instruction that now — with its annual expenditure of more than \$100,000,000 from public funds, and its able corps of more than 250,000 teachers — penetrates the entire nation with its presence, touching every family with an uplifting power. At the same time we have created and supplied free public libraries in almost every considerable town of the Republic; museums and schools of art. We have made science popular and accessible to its humblest student. The mind of the Nation has been fed with the strongest food of the ages. During the same time, in morals and religion we have been schooled to find the reconciling points between law and liberty, between social and public restraint and private freedom. We have succeeded in solidly planting and building a free church in a free State and in making it co-extensive with the Nation. We have made enduring lodgment of a Divine Faith in the popular heart, so strong and filled with mercy that after crowding our own land with eleemosynary institutions for human suffering, it has found for itself a thousand channels through which it is rushing forth with God's glad tidings to the ends of the earth.

In all this has not our people had a noble schooling leading up to greatness? It is not merely that they have accomplished these things in time so brief and with wisdom so clear, but that they were compelled, in doing this, to go forward in emergencies however hazardous, settling questions involving the very life of the nation, with little or no historic light to guide them, upon foundations then first discovered and principles then first applied. It was not a few great leaders; it was the people themselves, schooled to such wisdom and power that, under God, continually wrought out such redemption.

Just here one might ask, "What remains? Has not the work been finished? Have not the graver questions now been settled; the supreme problems been solved?" No!

The onrush of Providence and of human unfolding is startlingly rapid, and is leading off into new directions. We have lately heard a distinguished living authority in social economy saying, "I believe we are just beginning to enter a terrible era in the world's history; an era of internal and domestic warfare such as has never been seen, and the end of which only the Almighty can foretell." We will not take time now to inquire whether this is exaggerated. But certainly thoughtful men will say, and without hesitation, that the world as a whole, and our country in particular, are entering, *have entered*, upon a new cycle so wide-reaching, profound and complicated, so deeply involving the very structure of society and of man's life on earth as to tax human thought and effort beyond all that has gone before.

Men are asking, in view of the strong, outstanding, wide-spread facts of wrong and suffering and unequal conditions, whether society is constituted as it ought to be; whether it is administered on a right system and with right aims; whether, as it now exists, it is meant to serve the greatest good of the greatest number, or chiefly the interests of limited orders and classes. They urge the question whether this huge, brawny, industrial strength is being turned to best account; why the few receive so much and the many so little; why, in face of growing knowledge, moral elements, and total wealth, pauperism, vice, disease, crime should not only go on, but go on increasing. They are asking whether the members of this great human body may not somehow be co-ordinated more helpfully—the strong with the weak, and not against them; the rich with the poor, the intelligent and skilled with the ignorant and unskillful. They ask with great force what help is due from sight of any kind to blindness of all kinds; by those who stand on the fortunate side to those on the "*other* side"—how human life may somehow, here and now, be made over?

This whole class of questions has broken in on the

thought of our people through all the doors, and can not now be swept out. We may as well see this. A reading public that thinks must ask them; a thinking public that suffers will ask them. And your whole American people, down to the humblest workingman are now reading, thinking, suffering. The lowest depths are stirred. These sociological questions, going to the root and sweeping the whole area of man's earthly well-being, are at this hour before every civilized nation, none more than our own. A necessary outgrowth of Christianity sooner or later, they have reached now the supreme place in human thought. They demand action. They demand that we shall aid in distributing Divine energies through all these relations of men, and make this world more hospitable, more homelike, to all comers—so that their stay here shall not be altogether a sad one. These are burning questions. They have come to stay till answered. They will grow in power. They entered through Christ. They sprung from His bleeding side. He died for the race in its entirety. His Kingdom takes in both worlds. What touches the lowest interest of humblest man, what lifts or lowers one woman the smallest fraction of a degree, what raises or depresses the happiness of a child in poorest quarters one hair's breadth, touches the very heart of this King of men. And by so much as His Spirit takes stronger hold on human thought, these questions become the more irrepressibly urgent.

See the change in books. It is hardly fifty years since Carlyle described all literature as being little else than a mass of self-devouring criticism. But what to-day? Is it not a mass of scientific fruit—acquired fact, broad views of human needs and human condition—with a heart in it? If science, it must be *applied* science. The great Liebig finds a true employment for his brilliant chemistry in securing better food for infants; Bell makes the telephone wait at sick beds. Science is valued, as it serves. The books that take hold on men; the works of art that touch

the world's nerves—of what sort? Your Waverly novels stand on shelves—entertaining, but dead for want of touch. Your Dickens—opening up the dark windows of wide wrong, deep suffering, and social misery—stirs you; stirs man. True, he stops there; he has no balm. But it was something to open up the wrong; it was more to have a remedy.

So, too, with toil. It has an eager, impatient heart. It is looking for readjustment. These crowded Industrial Exhibitions that go the round of greater cities—London, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, New Orleans—are they meant for idle play? Great service to suffering men, rather, is to come out of them. Technical schools, better industries, uplifted workingmen must somehow be their fruit. Wheels! wheels! wheels!—"high and dreadful," but with a living spirit in them! Humane purpose must be there if men are to watch their whirling.

We look back to a time when the masses had small hope of better conditions, except upward and hereafter—their only outlet in that direction. Here they were overweighted for Time. Their earthly environments were invincible prisons. So long as they should live on earth they would grind out their fate, happy only in this, that their wretched social conditions were no worse and could not last forever, since death would come. But our age is hopeful on the earthly side. It looks to putting all things here under human feet. This wide-growing consciousness of lordship over Nature makes even the weakest impatient of being at all a serf. Men are demanding adjustments to change earth into the true kingdom of God. Grace and goodness seem an idle tale when Power, flushing the universe, has left them amidst so much of grief, disaster and misery. The day of selfish segregation and individualism is nearing its close; that of social fact, fellowship, organization has come, and we are in the midst of it. We have to do with a nation where population resists stratification. It marches to the music of a human brotherhood

wide as man; a ring of steel, its atoms vibrate together. Pulsations run at high speed through the people. Shoulder to shoulder they touch; heart to heart they beat. Born out of all the nations, they have yet one common life—heterogeneous of origin, but homogeneous in spirit. Here, amidst such a people, so prepared of God, these mightiest questions of sociological well-being are thrown in for solution. Who can foretell the wind of rising conflicts?

We can recognize struggles as impending, in comparison with which those of the French and Indian wars, the Revolution of A. D. 1776, the late Rebellion even, were child's play. Our fathers knew nothing of this tumultuous irruption of crass and crude material into one national life. They saw not this rapid multiplying of restless classes—impatient of law, impatient of religion, often uneducated, or, oftener still, well educated for evil. Our national veins seem already tense and strained with feverish passion; and yet within another century this population of 60,000,000 will be quadrupled in number and possibly intensified in passion. How are the national veins to be kept from bursting?

What answer have we to give; and whence shall we draw power to preserve and transmit to coming centuries in unimpaired strength that great Republic which these founders and pioneers created for us?

“Education?”—“Popular education, co-extensive with our land?” You have it. Does it relieve the Nation from this unrest—this restless unrest, invading at length quiet homes? Education makes men more sensitive to suffering, to uneven conditions. It embitters life to look out from lower and recognize what seem immovable barriers to higher possibilities. Education of itself brings no peace. The “calm philosophic mind” is not its fruit. Russia finds dynamite amidst her students.

If not to “education,” shall we turn to “wealth”—greater and better distributed? What we have is enormous. Arithmetic has no figures for that which shall be.

It is interminable—this treasure in soil, mines, looms, mills, commerce. Figures stagger under the weight, and yet we have no more than dipped a spoon into the illimitable sea. And this expansion of our vast railway system, which takes up the continent as a very little thing, stretching colossal iron fingers from ocean to ocean, and binding the Nation into one cohering and wealth-producing whole—who has not heard that amidst such wealth social troubles will find quick adjustment? A great mistake! The country is marked by prodigious increase of wealth-production. Machinery, multiplying, revolves in golden gulches. But does the desired solution seem to be approaching from that quarter? Wealth centralizes; and creates—envy! Its attendant shadow, poverty, still follows, growing continually darker and bitterer. The anthracite of half the country is controlled by no more than half a dozen companies of few members. The railway corporations that handle the commerce and govern the industry of the whole land are not more in number. The larger factories are devouring the smaller; the great importers crushing those of lesser capital. Ranches are sold by hundreds, possibly thousands, of square miles, and for millions of dollars. But as wealth multiplies, destructive crowding into cities goes on. The slums are rank with a fouler filth and more desperately wicked. Pauperism, disease, crime rise at one end of the scale as wealth at the other. And the restlessness of the suffering classes, meanwhile, is not stayed.

Thoughtful men find ample necessity for continued and, possibly, increasing capitalization of wealth. Our modern civilization brings immense movements. These vast railway systems which the magnificent scale of modern commerce makes imperative; these splendid factories covering whole townships; these mining operations depending on machineries consuming millions—how are they to be created or worked?

But that disparity of distribution presented between

such enormous property in few hands, and starving poverty near by among the many—who can wonder that widespread, restless bitterness is its fruit, or that the poor challenge the social order under which they take their chances in life? Concentration here leaves little there. Drifts piled high necessitate many a bare spot. Four hundred slaves toiled to maintain one Athenian aristocrat. He was satisfied,—Do we wonder?—if they were not. How many toiling men and women, reaping small gains, are required to maintain the wealth of no more than one of our larger capitalists? And envy goes on!

Nor can we turn to our yet unoccupied national domain as permanently furnishing an escape valve for this wide discontent, with inferior conditions. The time is not far distant when this open common, free to every comer, will have been exhausted. The population, growing denser and packed closer, will be more revolutionary against social order. Then contagions of false theories, disturbance, vice, crime, will spread faster and act with more destructive force. Our help will scarcely come from this quarter, or any of those thus far named.

We turn now, with earnest inquiry, toward our Christian system, or the forces it contains. We challenge for it the right to be heard and tried where everything else seems doomed to fail. It has an imperfect, an inconclusive history; but it has no equivocal utterances and no doubtful claims. This religion we cling to, that the pioneers brought with them to build on in this western wilderness. Do not its prophets talk of it as that which shall reorganize society upon foundations of equal justice and true mercy; bring peace and plenty—"for iron, silver; for brass, gold"—beat swords into ploughshares?

I know the unhappy impression exists that our religion, that Christ, our Lord, looks right on into eternity alone. But are we not to see that, by His conception, the "Kingdom of Heaven" takes in time, not less than eternity—the body, not less than the soul? Here is a suffering

woman; "Satan hath bound her, lo! these eighteen years"—"the Son of man hath come to destroy the works of the Devil"; therefore "loose her and let her go." Her bent body, not less than her immortal soul, belongs to Him. What human suffering does not run back into Him, the center ganglion of the Race? What wrong is borne that He is not concerned to right? What maladjustment of human conditions that He does not claim the will and power at proper time to rectify? What were His works from day to day? He restored earthly wreck before He touched immortal ruin; physical disaster, before spiritual death. John Baptist sends: "Art Thou He that should come?" What answer? "The blind receive their sight; the lame walk; lepers are cleansed; the deaf hear; the dead are raised, and"—as a last fact—"the poor have glad tidings preached to them." The recovery of shattered bodies led up to recovery of souls. Four-fifths of His work lay in the plane of earthly evil. He has clearly taken in hand to bring about what mankind needs this side of eternity. He is King of nations, not less certainly than King of saints. "His Kingdom ruleth over all"—all affairs, all persons, all relations, all points that sociology can ever raise.

Let us recognize the fact, and frankly, that our religion is now coming to this final test—can it deal, not simply with single souls in their standing before God, but with man aggregated and thus going through this earthly life in social relations? Has it power, not merely to go over the outermost boughs, gleaning scattered berries here and there, but to take the human tree in its entirety—roots, trunk and branches—and transplant that, as by one mighty effort, into the Garden of God where henceforth it shall feed on none but divine soil, and bear none but sweet fruit?

The entire rectification of any one man carries seal of Divinity. But our religion is now confronted with a higher demand. That "trend of the world" for which Christianity itself is responsible; that "spirit of the age"

which itself has created; that *Zeitgeist*, which is God's breath in history, is no more individualism, but socialism—sacred, Christian socialism. Men are every where moving out of isolations and separateness into unity. "They of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Shoulders are coming to touch; hands link with hands. "I proclaim," said the great Hungarian, "the solidarity of nations." But One greater than he has already been heard crying to the race for which He died, "I proclaim the solidarity of man," and this age at length is taking up His word. Beneath it all we recognize God breaking down walls of social separations that men should flow together along lines of immeasurable mutual help.

Our nation has a right to ask that a religion making this offer shall be fairly tried out to the end. Is it able to reorganize human life, not in single souls only, but in all organic and social relations? Can it put love as law every where, into all dealings through society, business, wealth, making all men willing servants of all; extracting pride from power, and impatience from weakness? If it fail here it must be confessed inadequate for this American people. But let it be fairly tried! Let its advocates exemplify it. Let them bring it as living love among the people. Then the "Old Gospel" clouds cleared away, with no need of "apologetics," will shine in its own light the confessed power of God. Paul wrote great doctrinal treatises, but he "*remembered the poor.*" Luther shook Germany by his tremendous onset against doctrinal errors, but his righteous soul was more stirred by flagrant crimes of power and the peasants' wrongs. He translated the Bible and sent it forth; he sung and preached, but everywhere plied his fiery energies to bring sweeter earthly life into the homes of the humble and ignorant masses. Whitfield preached, but he took his orphan asylums along into every pulpit. Your missionaries in China and India, long preaching with small apparent fruit, now added Christian Charity to the word spoken, and bore abroad through fam-

ine-stricken provinces those gifts of Christian sacrifices that saved starving myriads, and faith came. The proof here was not in "apologetics," but in the eating!

Times change, tastes change, but our deeper wants are forever the same. You send your old jewelry to be reset. The cheaper band may be melted, but the precious jewel must come home. Find new applications for this "glorious gospel," but let not itself be cast aside. There is a blessing in it. If the masses part with its ministries of love, they themselves perish! It stands closer to them than any other force now operating on earth. It is the glory of the Roman Catholic Church that in those ages when kings were unbridled despots and barons haughty tyrants, the tiara of supreme Pontiff again and again sought the brow of some humble man from the ranks, and that scepter before which kings bowed and nobles trembled was given into the hands of a lowly priest. But the Founder of this religion came from a workshop, and His apostles out of fish-markets. He is "not ashamed to call us brethren."

But let religion in all its work, as in all its aspects, devise liberal things. This nation has no use for what is narrow. The spirit of our times is broad. Everything works to make it so. These secular affairs handled on scales of grandeur, these swift highways, these flashing lines of speech, these nerves of steel that bind the earth yet widen it, these embassies of peace that commerce demands between the nations, this coming of the whole earth into the nearness and kinship of one great home through multiplying interchanges of mercy—how can our people, amidst such an atmosphere, be other than broad in thought, above all, in the deeper sympathies? You can not crowd the Amazon from its mouth back into its earlier beds. This great, broadened American heart can not be crowded into a narrow faith. Aggressive, self-reliant, confident in its power of thought, impatient of authority, but open through every pore to all generous

approach—what is that for which such a people waits on this religious side? Great souls aflame—filled, animated, inspired by the tremendous breadth of God's great love, and lifted into that clear atmosphere of upper life where Love is first seen in all its power of sacrifice! Otherwise, in our poor handling, even Christ's religious force, which should be kept close down to the wants and hearts of the masses, grows away from them, like the Calaveras big trees carrying their tops too high to bless the dwellers below. We make it seek the top crust only when it should go down through the mass of men seeking, most of all, the bottom elements. Its heart—warm, throbbing with sacrificing love—should lie up against the wretchedness and dying hope of the world till its own life has come into closest touch with every atom in the mass.

But we should come far short of a true statement were we to omit the fact that this American people call for *great, positive faiths*. It is impatient of weakness. It asks an underpinning for every structure. Love rests on fact. We have in our national blood demands for foundations deep and strong as God. It was impossible that physical science should go on, as we have seen, widening the universe to our knowledge, showing the inflexible working of unvarying, yet infinitely variant systems—that it should go on revealing and demonstrating this network of omnipotent law, with meshes fine enough and strong enough to hold in unrelaxing coil every fact and every being, however minute or however great—that it should go on unfolding the stately march and movement of the vast Whole along eternal ages, out of brooding darkness into present splendors, by rhythmic steps of an unswervingly accurate development—that it should go on establishing for us, even from the physical side, an undeviating “moral order,” everywhere making for righteousness—that it should go on correlating with unanswerable logic those subtle forces and connections of blood, of social relation, of physical admixtures and dependence, which are work-

ing almost irresistibly to make men what they are—impossible, I say, that science should go on doing these things without, in the end, modifying the whole circle of faiths as to the moral relations in which we stand to the Great God and to each other. A powerful change from this cause is going on in public mind. We can see it; we feel it in the general attitude toward the earlier conceptions of God, the earlier conceptions of moral responsibility, of comparative guilt, of law and penalty, of redemptive process and change—conceptions, than which none are more vital or fundamental; and in no part of the world, perhaps, is the progress of this result more certain, in none more rapid, than among the American people.

Scientific method naturally goes and grows with scientific study. Assumption is challenged; authority submitted to relentless handling; everything must consent to go into some crucible severe enough to test its metal. Such criticism asks of all creeds, secular and religious alike, not who made them, nor when they were made, nor who has believed them; but what solid foundations of tested fact are under them; what Rock of Ages they rest on? It is impartial; it has no animus; it covers the whole field of human inquiry and human faith. We are not then to be surprised, offended, or alarmed, when popular thought among our own people demands that what the Christian proffers to heart or intellect for rectifying the world should undergo that treatment. The Nation wants, for reaching that sublime destiny toward which it is groping and moving, great, positive facts, resting on foundations that can not be moved. There is a demand for them. The people will have no shifting sands.

The massive essentials of our common Christianity seem to meet the case. They were hewed and shaped and placed for us by One who created human mind and knows human need. To those who receive them, they vindicate their own right to be. The Bible, where they lie, as ore in the mine, is a solid unit of uplifting force. The whole of it

makes toward one end. Let it be dissected. Let doubting "criticism" go through that part which Christ called "the Books of Moses," and prove to itself that Moses had little or nothing to do with them; go through "the prophets," as He called them, and show with equal satisfaction that they have no right to be called prophets; through "the Psalms of David," as He called and sung them, and find for itself on them no imprint of David or seal of God; and *still* the Old Bible with the New somehow keeps its unity to the hearts of men, and goes on "making toward righteousness" and lifting them up toward God's light. Brought to honest trial in our lives, it gives truth to—it creates—great, positive faiths. Here are strength and happiness to troubled nations; here rest and peace, courage, hope, tranquility to suffering men!

To-day our minds go back across the century to that little band of patriotic pioneers who, for the sake of the nation as well as themselves, broke ground for civilization on this spot beside "the beautiful river." Of their heroic character and achievements you have already heard. They came from their Eastern homes with high resolve. Imperial States, one after another, should rise out of that almost unbroken wilderness stretching toward the setting sun. Those States should be dedicated to human freedom. Unfettered religion, pure morals, a broad and universal education, public and private security under protection of equal law, industry, thrift and plenty should here be the inheritance of their children forever. They were planning great things. Prophetic hope lent them inspiring visions. They were "building better than they knew."

But their visions are yet no more than half fulfilled. The progress of nations in the higher things is slow. The swing of the pendulum is but once in a century, and we die waiting a vibration. God is a patient toiler. We haste and murmur. His life is eternity; ours a flicker of time. He waits to fortify advances; a point once gained

is secure. He is changing the world from within, and the results are not base metal plated which might wear thin, but transmuted to wear bright to the last. The great convictions, faiths, principles of His kingdom are slow-wrought experiences. Only these enter life as chyle the blood. With mingled goodness and severity He is slowly and patiently bringing men to that state where heaven comes down to earth. The centuries drop out of His hand, but He toils on quietly. No haste mars the smoothness or finish of His work. Righteousness, truth go down to-day under the majority; but majorities, the nation, must then go into His smelting pot. He always wins who sides with God. The dynamics of physical laws, the expanding or contractile forces of races, the operations of social conditions may be made, if we will, to interpret for us this involved, complex, slow, and yet sublimely evident onwardness and upwardness of our human progress. But the grandeur of it is gone then! We need to recognize a Something higher, moving on side by side with us, and breaking through upon the human field by the weight and tenderness of its mightier personality—an invisible Divine Presence—our God and Father—working “all things after the counsel of his own will” to bring out, in the fullness of times, a readjusted world!

Such visions as these, it would seem, inspired and animated those pioneers of a century ago, and gave them patience to labor and to wait. This whole American nation now needs to be strengthened for its great place and work on earth by faiths as great and positive, by visions as high and clear. So inspired and strengthened, to what splendid glory of character shall it not advance in those new centuries before us? We may not be able to measure, but we cannot fail to see on what a vast pattern God is moulding our national form. We are compelled to believe in a destiny which no other nation has dared to desire or dream as its own! Cramped within no insular limits, we have secured the best part of this Western world. The very

center of the human family, we divide and yet unite the whole. The best blood of the most vigorous races flows in our veins and nourishes our national life. The cherished hopes of ages are bound up with our success. The prayers of nations, whose children are gathered here, are ours. A government created for freedom, equal justice and generous education—distributed and guarded by an almost divinely inspired wisdom; religion unfettered and unweakened by alliance with the State, at work without pause on every interest of human life and deeply incorporated with the convictions of the nation as it is profoundly associated with all its history—*these* are some of those massive foundations on which our structure and future greatness stand.

Are we ready to accept and administer this trust for mankind which has come down to us from the fathers and noble pioneers, and which they in turn received from God, the greater Founder of our nation? The grandeur of the trust and the honor was never exceeded.

ADDRESSES OF SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL EIGHTH.

ADDRESS OF REV. A. L. CHAPIN, D.D.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—My connection with this celebration is so peculiar that I shall crave a moment simply to explain it. This occasion has been looked forward to by many of your people and not by the people of Marietta or the people of Ohio alone.

Many months ago, Dr. Andrews, whom I chanced to meet, spoke to me of the occasion to come in the course of a couple of years. It has been my duty for some years to be a student and a teacher of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Ordinance of 1787. I told him my interest in both these documents—which are essentially the same—was such that I should be here if I could be. So I am here on personal considerations, with a view to learn what I can about that which is the fundamental document of authority to our Government.

As you have just been told, the Council of Congregational Churches, which met a year ago last fall, have looked forward to this occasion, and named five of their number with a request that they would be here to represent their interests, and to speak for them, if it might be, in regard to the great principles which are here involved. I am happy to say that one of my colleagues is here with me—Dr. Sturtevant; the other three are not.

But a few days ago, I received from the Governor of our State—Hon. Jeremiah Rusk—a commission requesting me to come here to represent the State; the youngest sister of the States which have grown out of this ordinance and its history.

I think I stand here in a peculiar position,—a commissioner from one of the States and from the Church Council; and in these capacities I wish to say a word or two.

First, with reference to that great fundamental document of our nation, from which it derives all its authority, which was meant to be, which has been, and which I believe is destined to be the continued source of authority and of life to the nation for a great while to come.

I have long been confident that the Ordinance of 1787 was essentially a part of the Constitution, necessary to it—a true exponent of it, throwing light upon it, and giving force to it. What I have heard here respecting the history of that document and all the contingent history has convinced me more and more. I have been charmed by what was here presented; and I want to say here, as I mean to say everywhere, when I have a chance to say it, to all those who are engaged in teaching the Constitution of the United States, take the Ordinance of 1787, and with it the Constitution, which is incomplete without it. The ordinance throws light upon the Constitution, and shows just those things which every youth needs to understand in order to be a true-hearted citizen of the United States. I carry that away with me as one of the things of this meeting. I hope others will do the same thing, and feel more than repaid for it.

Then, as representing the State of Wisconsin: Forty-five years ago I landed at the port of Milwaukee. Milwaukee was advanced a little beyond what Marietta was a hundred years ago; yet it is out of very small things we are come. All these years I have watched the development of city and State, and I am here to testify that Wisconsin owes what she is to-day, and what she may hope to become, to the fact that she was a member of this territory, which was covered by the Ordinance of 1787.

I have seen there the blessed result of having that ordinance established—established and fixed beyond recall. At the time when I landed in Wisconsin the chief settlement of that State was on the west side of the State. Perhaps it came up the Mississippi river from the Southern States; in love with slavery they would have been glad to

have introduced it into Wisconsin, but they could not do it. There was a barrier that fixed it and settled forever the freedom of that State in which we all rejoice. And so the precious principles of the constitution as they come in that ordinance, have guided the organization of the constitution of our State, and the administration of our government in various emergencies as they have come forward.

We have seen that Wisconsin was one of the five States of the Northwest Territory, and that the Ordinance of 1787 belongs to it as much as it does to Ohio. Once or twice I have found myself, while sitting here and listening with a great deal of pleasure to all that was said about Marietta and Ohio, beginning to be a little afraid that, in this assembly and on this occasion, another part of the country that had as much interest in this ordinance as you had here might be unmentioned. I am glad of this opportunity simply to say that Wisconsin rejoices with you in this day, and in all it commemorates.

It has been a great pleasure to learn since I came here that our excellent Governor himself was born in Ohio, not very far from here. He is a man of whom we are proud as a United States citizen. He has done honor to Ohio and won great honor for our own State. You remember how well he has stood for law and order against the recent rising. Perhaps among all the Governors of the States, he stood up as boldly in an emergency as man could, and crushed the very inception of that anarchical movement. He stands as a son of Ohio, and one who has received his principles from this same ordinance — and Wisconsin will stand with you for years and generations to come as a part of this grand inheritance, and as a monument to its fathers who framed that ordinance. These names that have been mentioned here are *our* names, a monument of which we are very proud, and to the results of whose labors we are so largely indebted.

I did not wish to go away without saying so much for myself and the people of Wisconsin with reference to our

interest in this occasion. And then, with reference to my relations to the Congregational churches—that, perhaps, is a more fitting theme for this evening than the other part. In this relation I feel a special interest. Their action in sending delegates here was not taken in any denominational spirit; it was not taken with any thought of magnifying the Congregational church over other churches of our land; but it was, on the part of this church, a definite recognition of the fact, which nobody can deny, that the great element of their righteousness, and of the brotherhood with man, in the relation of all parts of humanity to each other, was as a part of mankind; this one brotherhood is such that these principles have come to be established in the Congregational churches.

The Congregational church was the first to bring out these principles on the shores of New England. They have spread all over the States, and they have carried those principles. I do not know that they are any more strongly adopted than by other denominations, but I may say without boasting, that the Congregational church did speak specifically light, and to an ordinance that was peculiarly their own, they owe perhaps that great union with fellow-creatures—the principles of evangelical faith, that gospel truth which we heard this afternoon was the foundation and spring of this life from the beginning; which was its strength from the first, and which has furnished this strength throughout all history.

They stand together, not as a particular denomination, but they stand with open hearts and hands, representing a determination to maintain those principles and to keep alive the same state of results which was indicated in the Ordinance of 1787.

It is the spirit of Puritanism, I mean pure and true Puritanism. One said of the fathers who came here, that they had advanced somewhat upon the old Puritanism of New England in that they did not hang witches, nor persecute heretics. That was never any part of Puritanism; it was

an encumbrance that could not be shaken off, it belonged to the age in which it came over. It took them a little while to get rid of these things.

The spirit of Puritanism is the spirit of the gospel of Christ; it has the great truth of love to each other; it must be forever imperishable and enduring.

The idea of full personal government, the idea of one personal God, and of individual accountability to Him; to Him as the God of the world, and no less the Father of mankind; maintaining the simple government which has in it a force of righteousness which cannot be changed, and yet which is pervaded through and through with the life of that Kingdom which shines out from Genesis to Revelation as the peculiar characteristic of Him who ordained the Kingdom and who is carrying it out; recognition of what He has done to lift up men; restoring them from the power of sin, by the gift of His own Son to be their Saviour, and in the recognition of the truth taught by that Saviour; this truth which teaches the accountability of every man to God; out of which—and out of which only—grows the thoroughly good conscience which is the foundation of right in the character of any individual man; which recognizes law as the basis of all right action—that law of love which rises even before that sense of accountability, and is made to pervade the hearts of men until, through this ascendancy, the man himself becomes a law unto himself; then he is divinely good, because he is self-governed through the principle which Christ ordained to possess the souls of men.

It is just these principles which are to be upheld if our Union is to continue—if they are to be remembered elsewhere in the world—through the spreading of these doctrines, not of any denomination, not of any dogma, but the grand doctrine which underlies the whole; and I am glad to believe that there is growing among those who accept these principles—and thus accepting, try to live up to them—that large liberty which will draw them

together and make them one in the propagation of these principles. My hopes for the future are based upon this. I believe the Congregational churches will certainly not be behind others. We have, I think, great leaders in carrying forth this work. And it is because I believe this, that I am glad here to represent them in their high purpose to be leaders, to put forth all their energies to bring out these great measures and propagate these principles; and to bring out all that is most important in our nation and in the application of our government. I will add only a word further. As I have listened, and have had things I had heard before presented to me in a new light, I am struck with the wonderful providence of God, which has ordained the course of events, which has brought about just this condition of things in which we do so much rejoice.

I am exceedingly glad that it has been my privilege to be here. I go away instructed. I go away confirmed in all my love of the Constitution under which I live, in all my purpose to do what I can for it while I live, that it may be sustained and prospered. I go away with a heart raised in devout thanksgiving to the God of the Nation. I go away with a hope based upon His promise, based upon that which we have experienced in the past—that in the future, in spite of all the difficult problems which we have before us, in spite of the threatening evils which prevail—this Union is not to be governed by man's wisdom; but by God's guidance of man, in the application of all these principles, put to greater good, till it shall be indeed the Government of the earth, delivered from all evil, gladdening all nations, and established in the Kingdom of God, whose law is love, and which shall stand forever.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D.

PRESIDENT CHAPIN represents Wisconsin and the Congregational Church. He brings a commission from Governor Rusk. I don't know whom I represent.

One of the chief elements of success in Manasseh Cutler as a negotiator was not mentioned yesterday in the very beautiful and exhaustive discussion which was given by the gentleman who made the address. He was spoken of as a brave man, as a man of learning, a man of courtesy; but I think that one great element was his power of administering very elegant and sweet taffy to the people of that day, and I rather think I can augur great success for my youthful brother, General Eaton, from his prominence and great excellence in the same department.¹

I have listened to what has been presented here, with great interest. I have heard that there is, or was, or is to come, an Ordinance of 1787. I have heard, also, that there is a place called Massachusetts; that seems to be a pretty well fixed fact. And Colonel Tucker, yesterday, made it clear that there is also a place called Virginia. I was delighted with this fresh information. But really, my friends, when you come to think of it, this Ordinance of 1787—practically carried into operation in 1788, and about which our friends, the descendants of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, make so much, and the descendants of General Rufus Putnam make so much, about which indeed all the descendants of these great men come here and make so much—and none too much—when you come to think of it, I repeat, how youthful you are in comparison with Indiana; and

¹ General Eaton, the presiding officer of the evening, had introduced Dr. Tuttle in the following words: "Many of you have been greeting during these meetings an old friend, formerly a student and instructor here, long prominent as the very able, successful and scholarly President of Wabash College. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. Tuttle, of Wabash College."

still more so in comparison with the great State which lies right west of it!

Why, when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, there had been a settlement in Illinois—a Christian people of Christian lands and with Christian institutions—about a hundred years, founded in 1682. There was also a still larger planting of Christian institutions and civil laws in the State of Indiana in 1702. Why, *that* is venerable! That is something of age! But 1787 and 1788—what are they?

But really there is a difference when you come to think of these Christian settlements which they made in Illinois and in Indiana, the one in 1682 and the other in 1702. There didn't seem to come out anything for some reason or other; that is the matter, as Mr. Cutler once said with regard to Kentucky; that is the matter; something didn't seem to come of it. But when the forty-eight men stepped off of the Mayflower, here at the Point, and Mr. Jarvis Cutler cut down the first twig, or first branch, or first tree, or whatever it was, and they had established their tents to go to work, it seemed as though a *power* had reached here—a power that was bent upon *doing something*. They began immediately to survey, to put up their tents, to build their cabins, to get their institutions at work. They came here to do something, and they did it. That is the difference between the French civilization which reached Indiana and Illinois and the civilization which reached Marietta, Ohio. The whole difference was that there was an idea, a great idea in the one case, and in the other there seemed to be no very great idea.

Now I wish to speak for a few moments with regard to one feature, which I think has not been made as prominent as it deserves. When I look at the history of the great emigration which took place from England and Holland and Plymouth to Massachusetts and New England, I find it was not money that was at the bottom of it; it was not political power that seemed to be at the bottom of it.

The moving power was religion; the moving force was piety, reverence towards God, and the determination to find somewhere in the world a place where they might worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

It is religion that has done this work; it was in the name of the God of Israel that this emigration took place. It came to Plymouth; it went from New England to New Jersey; it came from New England to Pennsylvania; it came from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania and to North Carolina. It came as a great religious idea. It was a great power, because it was a power which had God in it; they were seeking a place in which they might worship God.

And so, when I look at these scenes which have been portrayed here before us with such great faithfulness, as connected with the 7th of April, 1788, I am moved with this fact, that the controlling power there was religion; it was piety—that kind of piety which led them when they organized their Government in proper form and opened their courts—led them to observe the forms of religion, and to have their work, as it were, baptized in that power and under those influences. It was religion that did this; and so when you look at the work which was begun in the same way at Cincinnati, at the mouth of the Miami, you will find that Judge Symmes was a religious man; it was a power which was upon him too, and was with all the men that settled further up towards Dayton, and the men who went to Granville, and the men who spread over the Western Reserve. They were religious men; they were the men that pioneered this country, and when we look at it in this light, it seems to me we need to bring into prominent notice a power of which I will speak presently.

We are college men; this gentleman [indicating President Eaton] is my foster-father; he is at the head of Marietta College; I am one of its sons. Will you allow me to say, my friends, that I am proud of this parentage? I would rather be a son of that institution that lies so

sweetly up there on the hill than of Yale or Harvard or Princeton. In the words of Mr. Webster—pardon those who are smaller for saying them—we love it. If you wish that institution to grow in the confidence of the people as well as in endowments, it must be in the filial affection of its sons, and—presently I hope—in that of its *daughters* also.

The question as to this education, I asked myself as I was looking at the public schools here—these public schools, how finely they look. Those public schools in Cincinnati! Those public schools in Cleveland! Those millions of children, for aught I know—they told large stories about them yesterday, here, but not too large—not more than they deserve. I asked myself—how did these public schools, these libraries get here? Where did they come from? Does the Legislature give them?

Do not forget it my friends. Let history have its proper respect; give it due regard; it was because Manasseh Cutler put into the fundamental ordinance about which we have heard so much, the elements, the seed corn which brought this glorious grain, this wonderful harvest of public schools.

Who was Manasseh Cutler? A man that feared God, a just man, a religious man. The very development of this great system of education is the development of the piety of the pioneers. There were no colleges here in 1788. Was there a college west of the Alleghanies? Was there one north of the Ohio? Could you find one from Pittsburgh to where San Francisco now stands? You might have gone from New Orleans up to the Lakes and searched carefully, and you could not find a college or an academy. But now, when you come to Ohio, you may find an institution at Athens, and, in fact, all over this State you may find them, founded by these men. They were religious men; they founded these institutions. You will find them everywhere. They come from the very heart of this movement—from the heart of the pioneers. The

college has been the institution of religion, as well as of education, in this great and goodly heritage.

Sometimes I look at this thing with a degree of respect and delight which I cannot express, when I come to trace the history of these enterprises, these institutions for learning, and these for the unfortunate. Somehow, when you go to trace them back, you will bring them back to the heart and mind that loves God, to this great and wonderful development of the higher education in this country, as the child of the Church; it is the child of piety. I have great joy in feeling that there is, underlying this wonderful movement, a great power, which is the power of Godliness, power of religion, love to God, and love to man.

But when we come to look at what has been accomplished in a hundred years in other respects—in the way of manufactories—in developing the soil—in one word, in the development of the entire country in such gigantic proportions as we have in the six States covered by the great ordinance, we see the same change—the same results, which are perfectly stupendous—wonderful in their extent.

I have asked myself what is the cause of this stupendous development. How did it come to pass? Where is the great underlying cause which has produced it? Was it the Ordinance of 1787? Did it grow out of the generosity of Connecticut in relinquishing her almost fabulous title to lands in Ohio? Did it grow out of that stupendous claim which Virginia made, which seemed to cover about all the territory west of her? It was generous, magnanimous of Virginia to yield that claim. I will say nothing to her discredit. She has done great things in the past, and I hope she will do great things in the future. But was that the cause—was that the cause that led to these stupendous results? My friends, I will give you the cause as I believe it to be. I think the true explanation of this whole business is found in the explanation which the

Queen of England gave the Shah of Persia. He asked her how England became so great, and she laid her queenly right hand on an open English Bible—King James version—not the revised edition—the King James' version so wonderfully praised by men, and which runs its roots into hearts of men of every age, and especially in this country. She laid her hand on that Bible and said: "Here is the explanation of England's greatness."

And, my friends, I, too, will lay my hand upon the English Bible, and looking at the stupendous developments—the results which we have in the Northwest—in the great country which is covered by the Ordinance of 1787, and I will say, and you will not contradict me, that the underlying power of the public school—the underlying power of the college—the underlying power which armed so many hundreds of thousands of brave men to defend their flag, to vindicate the country—the underlying power which has made these States what they are—is the English Bible.

And I hope that when the great monument is raised here which shall perpetuate that which was begun in 1787, you will not forget this great thing, and will somehow symbolize this great fact, that the underlying power which has produced all this is the English Bible. And may God bless it and bless you also.

REMARKS OF I. N. STURTEVANT, D.D.

I HAVE an ambition to speak on this occasion. I wish to make a statement in the line of what has been said to-day, which it may be bold for me to make, and yet there is a fire in my bones that will not let me rest unless I make it.

I have looked to-day on the cemeteries here; the burial places of the Indians—nothing left of these but the monuments of their day; the cemetery where sleep the dead, the soldier heroes of four wars; and somehow, filled as I have been with reverence for those tombs of the ancient dead, and especially for those of the glorious fathers of the Northwest, it has come to me as a sort of inspiration. There is a reverence for the tombs of the prophets, there is a reverence for our fathers' tombs. In Egypt tombs were temples that carried the thoughts upward. In Hindostan were tombs and temples that carried the thoughts upward. In North America were tombs and remains of temples, a nation that built tombs; but the story of the race is past, and if you remember and commemorate and glorify only a dead race then your glory is departed.

I noticed a sign here to-day, "The well." I don't suppose the well is here to-day; but it is the place where the well of the old Block-house was. I think there is one thing that lasts as long as tombs. That was put in existence by the well-digging race—a race that brought or left a blessing for the children that came afterwards.

It is said of one of the ancient Romans that he rendered such favors to Rome that they built a monument and directed that for five feet around his children should have perpetual inheritance, so that no matter how hard-pressed they should be, they should have some place to stand close to their ancestor.

Now, I take it, the men who formed the Northwest Territory should have something for a representation, a perpetual reminder, and that their children under a monu-

ment to their fathers might flourish and be at peace; and it seems to me that somebody ought to say that whatever other monument is built here for the founders of our Territory, there should be a fountain of pure learning, as sound a place of instruction as the Northwest has anywhere—or, indeed, as exists anywhere else.

And I believe that if a man will take in one hand that address of Senator Hoar's, printed in good type so that any man can read it, and a subscription paper in the other, he could go up and down and raise \$100,000 or \$200,000 for that institution with as much ease as a man can raise anything in this way.

I have no objection to monuments, but I do believe in fountains; and I do long to see here that very rich, glorious fountain of sound learning, even the carrying out of the idea so well begun here, where it shall be copious for generations to come.

Therefore I have ventured to stand here,—and may I not say it in the name of those who have sent me?—and propose to urge that we should have some such expression, in that living Institution, that living fountain of water, to our succession that we were doing the same work the fathers did.

The lesson of this Centennial is—or should have been, “He that is greatest among you let him be the servant”; for those who made these great foundations—they were servants to you and to me, and unless you and I can manage to be servants to those who come after us, we will be forgotten—and we ought to be; but if we are willing to be servants, our ministrations shall be remembered by our children and our grand-children.

REMARKS OF EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D. D.

I AM sure that all of us who have come from a distance, and listened to so many things, have been impressed with the change in things. I for one recollect perfectly well that the fathers of one hundred years ago would have all gone to bed at nine o'clock at night, whoever came to address them, whether it was a Shawnee Chief or Mad Anthony himself. I am quite sure that at the bottom of the heart of even an Ohio gentleman there must be a certain satisfaction existing that this speech is not to be two hours and a half long.

I should not say a word more, but that my friend, Dr. Sturtevant, has made this excellent suggestion of what is a fit memorial to such men as we commemorate here.

And it is the great good fortune of the State of Ohio, that she has succeeded in calling to the chair a gentleman whom I will not simply say is one of the most distinguished educators in this country, but one of the most distinguished educators known to the world; I should think the State of Ohio would be glad fitly to endow the Institution over which Dr. Eaton presides.

I do not forget on what day I am speaking, and that this is a religious meeting, and the lesson of the day should be, as one of us has said, that of being servants. He has touched a chord which has vibrated in the hundred years gone by and will vibrate in the hundred years to come.

Men write great volumes, pile up great libraries about religion, and yet the whole of religion may be expressed in these words: it is the love of man, when he loves with God, his fellow man.

REMARKS OF REV. B. W. ARNETT, D.D.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There are times in the history and in the life of individuals when language fails to express the throbbings and longings as well as the aspirations of the heart; and I find myself, sir, this evening without words to express my sentiments to you and to this intelligent audience, the representatives of this great Commonwealth of ours.

But your call to me to say a word¹ was a command which I could not disobey, without feeling that which a man feels when he fails to do the duty he owes to himself, to his wife, to his children, to his race, to his church, to his country, to his God.

For while you have been discussing the blessings, the joy that the Ordinance of 1787 brought to you, and when the distance traveled by the speakers to be present with you on this occasion was referred to—I looked back at the distance traveled the first century by myself and by my race, to reach you on this platform. And I concluded that I have traveled further than my distinguished friend, the eloquent Senator from Massachusetts; I feel that I have come further than the distinguished gentleman from the Old Dominion. I feel that I have traveled further than a gentleman I met on the corner who had traveled from San Francisco here.

But, one hundred years ago where was my father, where was my mother, in relation to their condition when this

¹ President Eaton introduced Dr. Arnett as follows: "My friends, we have had a wonderful feast; we have heard much about liberty; we have heard much about the good things that have come out of the Ordinance of '87; we have had one with us representing a different race from the Anglo-Saxon, who has been listening with peculiar feelings to these developments of this country and the providence which it has brought to us, and he has been asked to say a word this evening. I refer to Rev. Dr. Arnett, who has earned for himself by his faithful scholarly service a distinguished place in Wilberforce University."

Ordinance of 1787 by Virginia and the thirteen States was hung out, like a bow of hope, over the darkened pathway of the coming years? Where were they as that was hung out o'er Ohio?

Then, my friends, there was no star of hope to guide them in the darkness of the night. O, sir, that "love of liberty,"—the expression of that great and noble son of Virginia when he declared that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—all this *we* saw in the Ordinance of 1787.

Thank God we have lived to see the day, to enjoy the blessings of that empire that your fathers founded; that was to bring to mankind, and to be to mankind, an empire of freedom of thought and of action, an empire of morality, an empire of knowledge, an empire where men and women should live together, having no masters, save God in Heaven, and their own free will. That government we have lived to see; and to-day I rejoice with you that the *coming* century is not as the *past*, as I look on the darkness of the past, and then to-day look on the prospect of the future. In the past no schools; to-day, friends and citizens, we have in our midst, as your chairman, the man who collected the broken fragments of the moral and religious forces of my race, and brought them together and started them on a grander career. A power that shall elevate mankind, and bless the nation, has sustained its grand departments of education.

A half century ago there were no schools East or West, North or South, for my race; but to-day even in South Carolina, in Georgia, and at Richmond the citizens of Virginia have contributed of their means, and they have established an institution of learning whose spires, pointing to the sky, and whose bells, pealing, bid my son and my daughter come and drink of the living water of life and knowledge, and fit themselves to be citizens, to bring the light to mankind. Oh! it is wonderful! With, sir, in this

new century thousands of children in schools spread all over this land; with 11,500 of our teachers that have passed examinations to teach our own children; with 6,500 of our sons who have graduated in colleges and who now are prepared to go forth, to lift up the race and to teach them their duty to themselves, to their government, and to their God.

And, sir, I congratulate the citizens of Ohio, for it was in Ohio, on Ohio soil, that the first experiment of race education began. Oberlin, standing in the pathway, threw a beacon light into the darkness of the night, bidding our sons to come and walk in the way of life; and to-day, thank God, Oberlin is all over the land! Oberlin is established in Florida! Oberlin is everywhere; and men of this race are bid to drink of the life waters.

Is it wonderful that I feel full of rejoicing? that I have no language to tell you what I feel? And, sir, in conclusion, I say to you, Mr. Chairman, and to these others, that in the future, as in the past, we will ever try to be true to the best interest of our country. We, sir, will strive, by the grace of the God that bore us out of the darkness of the night, to stand and sustain our Constitution, and the institutions of learning.

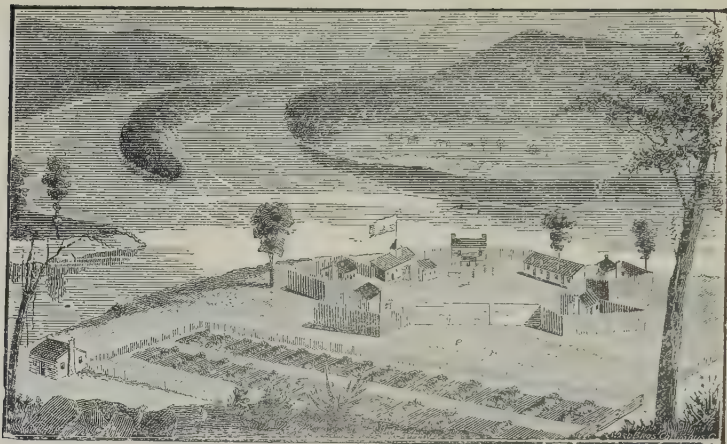
And, while you were hearing of the honorable men and women of Massachusetts, I thought how in Washington, the other day, I went out to Lincoln Park to see the great monument to Abraham Lincoln, in bronze, standing, pointing his finger to the sky; at his foot the freedman with broken shackles; on one side of the monument the freedman's memorial to Abraham Lincoln; and on the other side the inscription that the first money contributed for this monument was \$5, by Charlotte Scott, of Marietta, Ohio. Lincoln and Charlotte Scott, of Marietta, will go down through the centuries side by side.

And then sir, *we* will not forget Charlotte Scott. And the Methodists must not forget John Stewart the pioneer missionary to the Indians of this land. Down at the

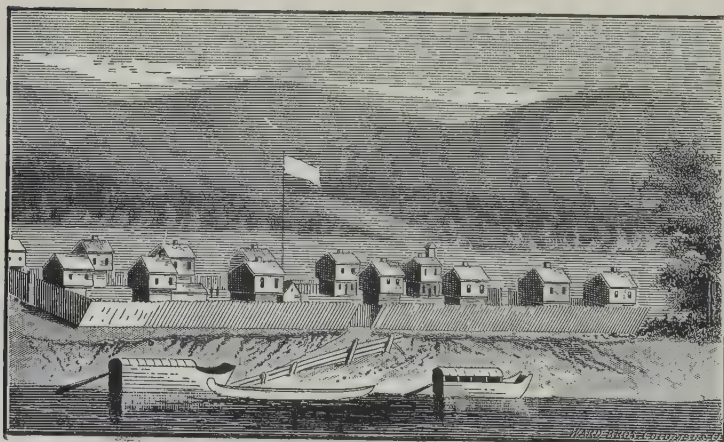
church here in Marietta where Marcus Lindsay was preaching in 1814, John Stewart stood outside and heard the gospel. It found way to his soul and he was converted; and in the night he heard a voice which said to him, "Preach my word to the unknown." He paid his debts and started, going to the Delaware Indians and from there to the Wyandottes. There a colored boy, whom the Indians had brought from Virginia, heard him, and was converted under the preaching of John Stewart of Marietta. He preached the first sermon to the Wyandotte Indians, and many were converted. He returned to Marietta, and J. B. Finley the great missionary to the Wyandotte village came after.

So, while you are celebrating this great event, and while distinguished men have come to represent their States, I have come commissioned by no State; but I am here to represent Charlotte Scott and John Stewart.

May God bless you in the future, my friends, and may we continue in this grand work until our Nation from ocean to ocean and sea to sea shall unite in the full intent of the Ordinance of 1787.



FORT HARMAR, 1788.



FARMER'S CASTLE (BELPRE), 1791.

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆ- OLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AT MARIETTA, APRIL 5 AND 6, IN CONNECTION WITH
THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT F. C. SESSIONS.

THE invitation to hold the third annual meeting of this Society in Marietta came with singular appropriateness. It is certainly gratifying to those of us who have seen the movement to celebrate this occasion properly to be permitted to participate in these exercises.

The few remarks that I shall make in this, the opening of the meeting, can add but little to the historic interest which attaches to the occasion; but this I may say, that I voice the sentiments of all the members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, looking back to that day in March, 1885, when a few persons gathered in the State Library at Columbus to form the Society, that one of its prime objects then decided upon, is now being realized. We are not all here who met on that day; one or two of the number are resting that "eternal rest" which another century will bring to all of us; the end of which century another generation will celebrate.

One hundred years ago the advance guard of our present civilization in this part of our country were slowly floating down the river the Indians call "the beautiful." Did this band of forty-eight men—"The Pilgrims of the Northwest"—realize what one century of time would do in this part of their country which they were now about to occupy? Then the whole territory, of which our State is but one-sixth, was practically a wilderness. Scarcely a white man's home, save small French settlements, whose people, in the century in which they had occupied the alluvial Illinois

bottoms, were hardly civilized. Not a road, not a settlement aside from those established by Moravian missionaries, could be found in any part of what is now Ohio. The pioneers found a wilderness that promised much more for their labor. Could they appear with us in these commemorative exercises to-day, would their expectations be realized? We can only leave to history the answer.

To an individual one hundred years seems a long lapse of time. To a nation it is short. It lacks but four years of four centuries since Columbus gave to civilized mankind a new world, whose age rivals that known in history as the Old World. Less than two centuries after Columbus came there landed on a "wild tempestuous shore" a band of Pilgrim fathers, seeking in America the freedom denied them in Catholic Europe. Again two centuries and the second band of Pilgrims, whose coming we of to-day celebrate, landed on our "wild Muskingum shores," and laid the foundations of a civilization, which neither they nor their fathers of 1620, nor those of 1492, could contemplate.

I shall not attempt to trace the historic associations gathered here to-day. We stand, as it were, on consecrated ground. On this soil, for the first time in the history of our country, were planted the principles of *freedom*, education, civil and religious liberty; and here was also planted the system of land-ownership by all people, as against the feudal system that, coming down through unnumbered years of English history, had fastened itself on many parts of our country. I can revert only in the most casual manner to these inestimable blessings, planted on the ground where we now stand. Their results are their monuments; their endurance and their influence, their history.

I may be pardoned, however, if I refer to some of the results obtained, as shown in the history of the century just closed.

When this colony landed there were but thirteen States in the Union, whose people, confined chiefly to the Atlan-

tic coast, were confronted with the problem of building a nation on an untried basis, and whose form of government was yet untested. Sagacious statesmen, looking to all parts of our national problem, saw that a colony, firmly planted in the extreme parts (and this was then our Western border), would not only be an influence to perpetuate those principles they had fought so hard so secure, but it would be an integral factor in cementing incongruous elements manifesting themselves in the country. Washington, Jefferson, the Adamases, Franklin, and others, saw in the country "westward of the mountains" something more than a mere colony, where men could retrieve their fallen fortunes. They saw States whose people, bound by the strongest ties of kindred and of patriotism, would unite with the older States in perpetuating those principles that all the world is slowly recognizing as the only ones on which a nation can live. And so the colony became, in a large measure, national in character, and hence national in its influences. Many colonies had gone out to other localities, many have gone out since, but how many can point to influences such as led this band in the years 1787 and 1788. The success or failure of this colony carried with it the final success or failure of freedom in America. Its success or failure decided the individual ownership of land; the township system of government, and the inalienable rights of man in person, speech, property, religion, and education. Among its first acts was the employment of teachers, both secular and religious, and before a church was built or a school house seen, secular and religious teachings were established.

The founding of this colony was watched with greater solicitude by public men, and was better known, than that of any colony in our history. Its planting meant new States in the country westward of the Alleghenies, and new States meant an increase of population, wealth, resources, and power. Hence, one is not surprised to see it often mentioned in the correspondence of Washington

and others, a few of whose names I have recalled. I need not repeat their assertions here; they are familiar to all.

I have only casually glanced at the national features connected with the planting of this colony. The subject itself is far-reaching and important, and on this point I will only add a word to the young among us—study well this question. Learn its bearings on our history. Plant firmly in your minds all that relates to it, and should you be called in after life to assume such a duty for your country, see to it that the lofty and enduring principles that actuated the men at the close of the last century, be your chief guide. Such an example and such a history could have no higher eulogy.

Aside from the national effects produced by and growing out of this settlement, is it not equally profitable to note the effect produced in local or State affairs? How has this settlement and its establishment affected the State in which it was founded? Has it left an impress that can be shown through the first century of our history? Can we read it on the pages of our history of to-day—the end of the cycle?

The annals of few States in our Union present a more striking array of names than Ohio, and few States possess a local history more conspicuous in our country's life. A State founded on the principles established on these shores one hundred years ago, could not help attracting to itself the best elements of the older States. As a consequence we see in the history of Ohio, especially in its early years, a strong, predominating element consisting of the best and most progressive men of our country. A State where the choicest blessings of civil and religious freedom could be assured, not only to themselves, but also to their children, was a magnet that, of its very nature, would attract just such men.

Ohio, which, in 1788, was the home of wild beasts and wilder men, and which ranks seventeenth in admission

into the Union, to-day stands third in the family of American States in population, wealth, resources and advancement. Not an American State has made greater progress, and no part of our Union excels that set aside in that matchless organic law—the Ordinance of 1787—to freedom and education. One does not need to recite the facts necessary to prove the statement; the hands of progress, refinement, and culture can be clearly traced in all parts of America where these principles have been made the fundamental and the controlling influences.

I shall leave to those who speak to us at this meeting to amplify these ideas. I have merely opened the door, and I am glad to bid you enter and enjoy the feast of intellectual good things that awaits us.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE JOSEPH COX.

THE BUILDING OF THE STATE.

THE first settlement in this State, at Marietta, and organization of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, were the most notable events in the history of our country, and deserve to rank among the greatest of the civilized world. The Territory having been wrested from the domination of foreign nations by the combined strength of the American Colonies after the eight years' struggle of the Revolutionary war, it became at once a subject of intense interest as to what disposition should be made of it. The soldiers of the Revolution, who had periled their all in defense of the country, claimed it as the common inheritance of all the Colonies, and to be disposed of by a central government. Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts also made claims of different kinds to it, and it was not until 1786 that these conflicting contentions were settled, and it was agreed by their relinquishment that the land should be the property of the United States, then existing under the "Articles of Confederation," to be formed into States, and to be admitted into the Union when so formed, upon equal footing in all respects with the original States, and the land disposed of for the common benefit of all the States, the manner and conditions of sale to be regulated exclusively by Congress.

Consider the vastness of the territory thus to be controlled, embracing nearly 240,000 square miles, or 150,000,000 acres! A land not then fully explored by white men, but so far as known, considered to be one of boundless forests, immense swamps, extensive prairies, impassable rivers, rough and barren hills, yet rich in all the possible resources for future habitations, but filled with wild beasts alert in pursuit of their prey roving.

bands of savages numbering, as was supposed, nearly sixty thousand warriors, claiming title to the soil, and jealous of every encroachment on their hunting grounds by their enemy, the white man. This wilderness, thus beset with hardships and danger, if settled, must be by men and women reared in the civilization of the Eastern States, abandoning their long-cherished homes and all the comforts and refinements to which they had been accustomed, and taking a long and toilsome march over the Alleghany mountains. The hostile Indian must be appeased by treaty or kindness; these failing, by war, ere their new homes or lives were safe. The wolf, and bear, and panther must be kept from the door by long and weary watches; the wilderness must be cleared by hard and exhaustive toil before bread could be raised, and all this, with the sickness, incident to a new country, wearing their strength and lives away.

All this aboriginal rudeness and savagery lurked at the western border of the old States, a standing menace to all peace and security. No treaty had thus far been sufficient to prevent this. The independence of the colonies having been achieved and acknowledged, the eyes of the world were turned to America as the paradise of nations, where man could be the arbiter of his own destiny, and there was every probability that the available lands along the eastern stretch of the Alleghanies to the Atlantic Ocean would be rapidly filled by the incoming hosts from foreign lands. National needs, as well as national security, required that the vast Western territory should no longer be the sole homes of savages, but should be reclaimed and converted into homes for civilized men.

But who shall be equal to this great task? Where are the men with sufficient nerve and muscle to face these dangers and conquer them? With a rich and powerful government behind them to protect and aid, the demand might easily have been filled. But a long and exhaustive war had depleted the Treasury, left the nation almost hope-

lessly involved in debt to its citizen soldiery, its bonds and obligations for millions outstanding unpaid, with no resources by which to redeem them, and to add to this, the land filled with counterfeited scrip and bills, almost impossible to be distinguished from the genuine. What, therefore, could be expected from the government? In this emergency there stepped forward nearly three hundred soldiers who had borne the heat and burden of a long campaign of eight years, under Washington, who had left their wives and children at home to eke out a scanty living as best they might while the husbands and fathers were fighting for their country's independence, and now with broken fortunes and health, and tattered clothes, but with hearts overflowing with patriotism, they presented themselves to the Congress by their leader, General Rufus Putnam, and said: "Ten years ago, when war was proclaimed against the Mother Country, you promised bounties in land to the soldiers of the Revolution who should continue to the close of the war, or until discharged, and to their representatives, should they be slain by the enemy, where the remainder of their days might be passed on their own lands, in the enjoyment of that freedom for which they periled their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We have faithfully performed our duty, as history will record. We come to you now and ask that in redemption of your promise you give us homes in that Western wilderness, and our stout arms will cope with the savages if need be; we will hew down the forests, and therein erect temples to the living God, raise and educate our children to serve and love and honor the Nation for which their fathers fought, cultivate farms, build towns and cities, and make that wilderness the pride and glory of the nation. All we ask is that it shall be consecrated to us and our children forever, with the blessings of that Declaration which proclaimed to the world, and sustained by our arms, established as self-evident that all men are created equal; that **they** are endowed by their Creator with cer-

tain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these ends governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

It is not necessary that I should here repeat the long struggle and many endeavors of Washington, General Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, and others, to surmount the difficulties in their path, but which were ultimately successful, in the grant to the Ohio Company and the adoption of that wonderful Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory. I call it wonderful, for the clearness of its enunciation of principles of government, based on the true rights of man, not only for that time, but for all time, has had no equal in history. It is sometimes said of great events "that men build wiser than they know." But that can not be said of this instrument. It was not framed in the dark or by guesswork. It was the work of wise, thoughtful men who were framing, as they believed, an instrument on which depended all the future fortune and happiness of themselves and their posterity to remote generations, and the history of its birth shows that every part was carefully scanned, and every principle it contains tenaciously adhered to, until success crowned their efforts. How few there are who fully comprehend its great importance and the invaluable guarantees it gave! By the general mind, it is referred to as only an ordinance, which provided that slavery and involuntary servitude should never exist in the Territory. This, it is true, is one of its great features. But it contained infinitely more than that. Its principles are greater than those of Magna Charta wrested by the English barons from King John. It was the first fruits of the Declaration of Independence—the first crystallization of its principles into organic law. It fixed rights and obligations which are of the very essence of the natural and inherent rights of man. It provided for the protection of personal property and freedom of conscience of

every man. It declares that the estates of residents and non-resident proprietors in the Northwest Territory dying without wills should descend to and be distributed among their children and the descendants of a deceased child, or grandchild, to take the share of their parents in equal parts among them; and when there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parent's share; and there shall be in no case a distinction between the kindred of the whole and of the half blood, saving in all cases to the widow one-third part of the real estate for life and one-third part of the personalty; thus striking down with one blow the old English law of primogeniture, by which the first-born alone inherited the estate—a law which has been the curse of that and every other country where it has been adopted.

It gave the proprietor the right to devise his property by will to whomsoever he chose—to convey it by lease or bargain and sale, thus giving him the absolute ownership of all the property he might accumulate.

It proclaimed absolute freedom in religion by providing that no person should ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments; that all should be entitled to the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* to test the legality of detention or imprisonment, and should be also entitled to trial by jury; and all should be protected by judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; that all should be bailable, except for capital cases, when the proof should be evident or the presumption great; fines for offenses should be moderate, no cruel or unusual punishment inflicted; no man to be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; if the public necessity demanded that his property be taken for the common benefit or his.

own services so required, that full compensation be paid; and that no law ought ever to be passed which shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously formed.

It declared the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty to form the basis whereon these Republics, their laws and constitutions are founded, and that this ordinance was to fix and establish these principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in said Territory. And that religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

That the utmost good faith should be observed toward the Indian; his property shall not be taken without his consent, and they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just or lawful war, authorized by Congress; and it provided for a Governor, Executive officers, Legislative Assembly, and Courts of Justice; for the formation of not less than three, nor more than five, States in the territory, under constitutions to be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and that such States might be admitted, so far as might be consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy, with a number of free inhabitants less than 60,000. And it declared that these articles shall be considered articles of compact between the original States and the people and States of said territory, and forever unalterable, unless by common consent.

Looking over this whole Ordinance, section by section, who can point to any previous one which so clearly defined and so fully provided for the protection of all the rights of persons and property?

Armed and protected with this charter and pledge of their government, a portion of this brave remnant of the soldiers of the Revolution, in the dreary midwinter of

1787-8, bade farewell to all the cherished endearments of the homes of their birth and childhood, and took their solitary way over fields made gory by the blood of their slain kinsmen in many a hard-fought battle, crossed rough and inhospitable mountains, waded through snow and streams, scantily clothed and poorly fed, and, after many weary weeks, on the seventh of April, one hundred years ago, landed on yonder point beneath the shadows of those monuments of a race long since swept from the face of the earth, their homes melted away and their sites recovered with the forests of ages, and their name and history unwritten and forgotten. That memorable seventh of April, 1788, should never be forgotten, or passed over in silence, by any one who venerates the heroic character of the grand men who first planted their feet on this soil on that day.

Here on that day, on the broad and true foundation of the Declaration of Independence and the Ordinance of 1787, these brave men began the work of the building of this State. But in that great work they were not to be left unaided. Reports of the vast resources of the Western territory, its fine climate, its great possibilities for agriculture, manufacture and commerce, its great lakes, noble rivers and the free character impressed on it by the government, spread through all classes of society, and application was made to Congress for the sale of other portions and its opening to settlement by other associations, similar to that of the Ohio Company. A portion in the south-western part of the State had been reserved by Virginia for the soldiers from that State who had fought for their country, and another by Connecticut in the central part for those of her citizens who had suffered by fire from the incursions of the British in that State, and these were beginning to be occupied. Judge John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, who had been a Delegate in Congress and was now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that State, on the 29th of August, 1787, made application to the Pres-

ident and Congress for the purchase of lands lying at the mouth of the Big Miami (now the southwestern end of the State), thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami so as to embrace about a million of acres.

After many negotiations with the Commissioners and frequent changes in terms (owing, as in that of the Ohio Company, to the difficulty of obtaining government scrip, because it had risen rapidly as soon as it was seen that the government would take it in payment for land), Judge Symmes, supposing his contract agreed upon, started in July, 1788, with a train of fourteen four-horse wagons and sixty persons, to locate on his new purchase.

He came, as did the Ohio Company, over the Alleghany mountains, and by way of Pittsburg and Wheeling in flat-boats, stopping a brief time at Marietta to confer with the inhabitants there, a portion of whom, with Manasseh Cutler, he had seen at Bedford, Penn., on their route, and on the 22d of September landed at the mouth of the Little Miami river, above Cincinnati, and explored a portion of the country in the rear. But he made no permanent settlement then, but returned to Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky. The Indians had become restive under the now apparent determination of the whites to make large permanent settlements in the territory, and, under pretense that former treaties made with some of their tribes had been with persons unauthorized to act for whole tribes, made frequent incursions on all the white settlements, stealing property, burning cabins, and killing the inmates. Repeated attempts had been made to hold definitive treaties with persons acknowledged as authorized by all the tribes, but in vain.

In October, 1786, General Clark had invited all the savages of the Northwest to meet him in council in November, but they replied it was too late in the season, and the meeting was postponed until April, 1787. Nothing had been done, however, until July, when the Superintendent of Indian Affairs was ordered to proceed to Vincennes and

hold a council with the Wabash and Shawnees. It was finally determined that a treaty should be held early in '88 with these tribes, by the Governor of the new Territory, and troops to preserve peace were stationed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, the Muskingum, Miami, Vincennes and Louisville, Ky., and the militia of Kentucky were held in readiness for any emergency. But these preparations had no effect; the Indians were neither overawed, conquered, nor satisfied, and all further proceedings were continued until January, 1789, when the meeting was held at Fort Harmar.

But, notwithstanding these difficulties, the settlers went on with their improvements, guarding as well as they might against the incursions of the savages. When Symmes returned to Limestone from the Miamis, Major Benjamin Stites went down with twenty-six persons and built a block-house near the mouth of the Little Miami, on the 25th of November, 1788, and established the town of Columbia, now a part of Cincinnati.

During all this time the Indians were lingering about the settlements at Marietta and the Miamis, evidently hostile, but apparently friendly, until satisfactory treaties could be made.

At Marietta the settlement increased and went on prosperously. The inhabitants were watchful and industrious. Houses were built to shelter them, new improvements projected, a church and school-house erected, and now it contained one hundred and thirty-three men, fifteen of whom had families. That all might be protected under some kind of law, the Governor not having yet arrived to promulgate any, the people met together and framed such as were necessary for their temporary security, and that all might become acquainted with them they were publicly nailed on a large oak tree on the Point, the most public place in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. As a strong evidence of the good habits of the people, it is said that during the three

months of their existence but one difference arose, and that was compromised. This well justified the assertion of Washington that "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

On the second of July, 1788, the village was publicly christened Marietta, after the unfortunate French Queen, Marie Antoinette, it having before that borne the name of Adelphia. On the fourth, a celebration of the anniversary of independence was held, Judge Varnum delivering the oration, and on the ninth, General Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed Governor, arrived. The first law regulating the militia was published, and on the twenty-sixth the Governor issued a proclamation creating all the country which had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto into the county of Washington. On the second of September, 1788, the first Court was opened with appropriate ceremonies. The description, as given by the historian, is one worthy of the pencil of the greatest of painters, and I well remember when, as a boy, I first read it, the enthusiastic feelings it raised in me. Never was a court established with a more becoming sense of the great importance of that tribunal, which should ever sit as the representative of God dispensing justice on earth. I love still to read that description, and fancy myself one of the interested spectators.

The procession was formed at the Point, where most of the settlers resided, in the following order:

1. The High Sheriff (Colonel Ebenezer Sproat) with drawn sword. He is described as a man of uncommonly tall, portly person and commanding figure, who at once attracted the attention of the Indians, who styled him the Big Buckeye. He had been conspicuous in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth and many others in the

Revolutionary war. He was a man of bold and dauntless courage, and bore that sword of sheriff for fourteen years.

2. The citizens! What a grand company of citizens! Generals and colonels, majors, captains, inferior officers and private soldiers who had passed through the bloody fires of the Revolution, now marching in the quiet garbs of citizens to enthrone a court of justice, which should in peace be the arbiter of all their rights of life, person and property.

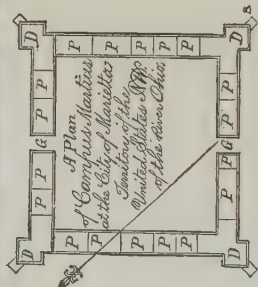
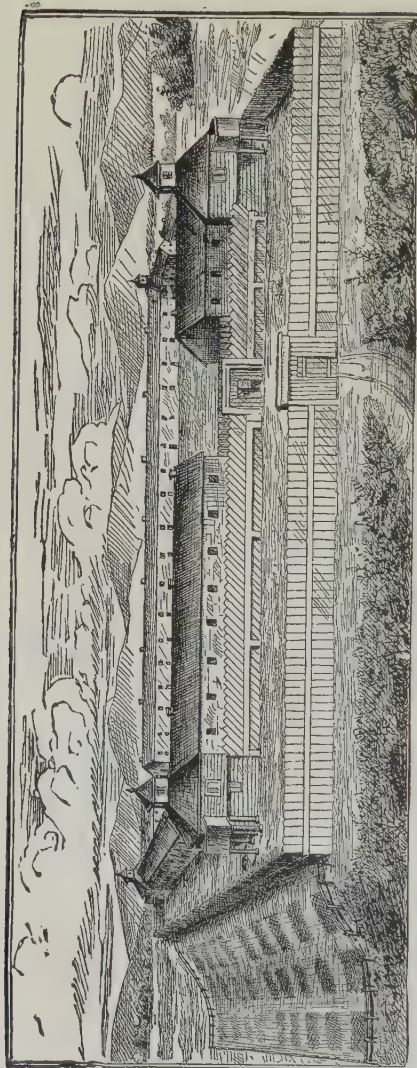
3. Officers of the garrison of Fort Harmar, composed of the same class of men, but yet in the military service to protect the colony.

4. Members of the bar, now transferred from the fierce arena of war to the calm contention of mind with mind.

5. The Supreme Judges, General Samuel H. Parsons and General James M. Varnum, both distinguished officers of the Revolutionary army, and eminent lawyers and statesmen.

6. The Governor, General Arthur St. Clair, distinguished also in the same war and as President of the Continental Congress.

7. The newly-appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, both also distinguished in that war, and also as the fathers of the new colony and its most active promoters. This august procession marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius (the stockade), when the whole countermarched and the Judges took their seats. Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, one of the most eminent clergymen of the time, a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, a member of Congress afterward, and one of the most active and intelligent in forming the Ohio Company, then invoked the Divine blessing, and the sheriff solemnly proclaimed that a Court is now open for the administration of even-handed justice to the poor and rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by their



Explanations:

D Block Houses of Heavy Logs.

G Gate ways.

P Dwelling Houses

B Watch Tower

PLAN OF CAMPUS MARTIUS.

peers, and then in pursuance of the law and evidence in the case. As witnesses to this spectacle was a large body of Indians from the most powerful tribes in the entire West, who had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. The court of justice of the State then so solemnly opened has, in all these hundred years, never been closed; but is still open to all classes who seek redress for wrongs. The Territorial government, having been now established, with General St. Clair, Governor; Winthrop Sargent, Secretary; Samuel H. Parsons, John C. Symmes (in place of John Armstrong, resigned,) and James M. Varnum began the duty of legislating for the Territory, and continued in session until December, enacting a number of laws, which, however, were not approved by Congress, on the ground that the Governor and Judges had authority only to adopt existing laws from the codes of the original States, but not to enact laws of their own formation. On July 2, 1788, Congress was informed officially that a sufficient number of States had ratified the new constitution of the United States, and measures were taken to put it in force.

On January 9, 1789, at Fort Harmar, a treaty of peace was made with the Indian tribes. With the Iroquois, confirming the previous one at Fort Stanwix in 1784; another with the Wyandottes, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh of January, 1785.

The first Congress under the new constitution of the United States assembled at Federal Hall, Wall street, New York, in April, 1789, and installed George Washington as first President of the United States, and one of its first official acts was to confirm the treaty made at Fort Harmar.

The terms of Territorial officers having expired on the adoption of the new constitution, President Washington appointed General St. Clair, Governor; Winthrop Sargent, Secretary; Samuel H. Parsons, John Cleves Symmes and William Barton, Judges of the General Court. William

Barton declined, and George Turner was appointed in his stead. Judge Parsons died shortly after, and General Rufus Putnam was appointed in his place.

While affairs were thus progressing at Marietta, active steps were being taken in the Miami Purchase. On the 24th of December, 1788, Israel Ludlow, Matthias Denman, Robert Patterson, Joel Williams and twenty-three other men left Limestone, and on the 28th of December, amid floating ice that filled the Ohio from shore to shore, landed at Losantiville, now Cincinnati. This party proceeded at once to lay out, survey and make a plat of the new town. By the close of the year eleven families and twenty-four unmarried men were residents. On the 9th of August Captain Strong, with Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn and a company of seventy men left Marietta, and on the 11th Captain Ferguson and Major Doughty followed, for the purpose of clearing ground and laying out a new fort for the protection of the settlers in Symmes' Purchase. After reconnoitering for three days from the Little to the Big Miami for an eligible site, he at length fixed on that opposite the mouth of the Licking river, which he represented as high and healthy, abounding with never-failing springs, and the most proper position he could find. On the 26th of September, 1789, he began the building of Fort Washington, in Cincinnati on the square bounded by Third and Fourth and Broadway and Ludlow street, on a reservation of fifteen acres made by the government. On the 24th of December, 1789, General Harmar left Fort Harmar with a small fleet of boats and three hundred men, and on the 28th landed at, and took command of, Fort Washington. Major Doughty returned to the command of Fort Harmar, and thenceforth for a number of years Fort Washington was the headquarters of the United States army in the West.

In this settlement, as well as at Marietta, was felt the necessity of religious services and educational privileges. On the twenty-fourth of January, 1790, the Baptist Church

was organized at Columbia, with Rev. Stephen Gano as pastor, and shortly after an academy, with John Reilly as teacher; and in 1791 Rev. James Kemper was installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati, and a church erected in 1792, on the corner of Fourth and Main, where the present church stands, and on the same lot the Cincinnati College Building.

On the second of January, 1790, Governor St. Clair arrived at Cincinnati and organized the County of Hamilton, and changed the name of the town from Losantiville to Cincinnati, after that of the society organized by the officers of the Revolutionary army, of which he was a prominent member. William Goforth, William Wells, and William McMillan were appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, I. Brown, Sheriff, and Israel Ludlow, Prothonotary or Clerk, and officers of the militia were appointed. As at Marietta before Governor St. Clair arrived, the people had been governed by laws of their own making, with Israel Ludlow appointed by them as Sheriff to execute them. But after the Governor arrived Courts began to sit regularly, and the community came easily under the forces of law and order. A celebration was held on the fourth of July, with a salute of thirteen guns and a military parade. The original settlers of Cincinnati were like those of Marietta, mostly composed of officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war.

But now the depredations of the Indians became more frequent and alarming. No settlement was safe from attack by day or night. The Indians threw off all restraints of tactics, and seemed bent on annihilating every settlement with the torch, tomahawk, and scalping-knife. It was then determined that General Harmar should march to the Indian towns at the head of the Miami of the Lakes, and inflict such chastisement upon them as would protect from further depredations. His command consisted of 320 regular troops from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and 1,133 drafted militia from Pennsylvania and Kentucky.

He proceeded on his toilsome journey through the wilderness and the great swamp, and on the 30th of September, 1790, arrived at the Indian towns on the Maumee, and in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, Ind., and, after destroying a number of them and laying waste their corn-fields, he was attacked at different points by large bodies of Indians, and, after suffering great loss of men, was compelled to retreat with the remnant of his forces to Fort Washington, which he left shortly after for Philadelphia, being succeeded in command by General St. Clair. Repeated attempts were made after this to induce the Indians to cease their depredations, but in vain, and the situation at every point became more alarming. General Putnam, writing to the President, January 2, 1791, reported an attack on Big Bottom, forty miles up the river, in which eleven men, one woman and two children were killed, three men missing and six escaped. "Thus," he says, "the war which was partial before the campaign of last year is in all probability become general. Our situation is truly critical. * * * Several settlements are broken up * * * and unless Government speedily send a body of troops for our protection we are a ruined people."

Similar complaints and appeals were made by Judge Symmes and others. The government became aroused to a true appreciation of the real danger and determined to take the most active measures. From the high character of General St. Clair in the army, Washington appointed him Major-General of all the troops to be employed on the frontier, and he was directed to proceed to the Indian country and attempt to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes; but, if all lenient means failed, to use such coercive measures as he should possess. Under these orders he proceeded to organize his army at Ludlow Station, now in the northern part of Cincinnati, and on the 17th of September, 1792, with 2,300 men, exclusive of militia, he moved forward twenty-five miles to the Great Miami river and erected Fort Hamilton on the site of the

present city of Hamilton; thence forty-four miles and erected Fort Jefferson, six miles south of where Greenville, in Darke county, now stands, and on the 24th of October marched northward through the wilderness. The roads were heavy and wet, the militia began deserting, the commander was enfeebled by disease, when, on the morning of November 4th, near what is now Fort Recovery, in Mercer county, just at daylight, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Indians and terribly defeated (over six hundred killed) and the army straggled back bleeding and torn to Fort Washington. This defeat sent a thrill of horror through the nation.

The Indians, triumphant and instigated by British traders, were truly on the war path. Every attempt to mollify them utterly failed, and it was determined to send a new force against them under a new commander. The selection was a difficult one; two brave and distinguished Generals had already failed. Generals Morgan, Scott, Wayne, Henry Lee and Colonel Darke were suggested. Washington finally selected General Anthony Wayne, to the extreme disgust of all orders, it is said, in the Old Dominion, as Governor Lee then wrote him. But Washington was inflexible in his choice; and it was well, for it inspired everywhere confidence in the desponding. The old soldiers of the Revolution remembered him at Brandywine, Monmouth, Valley Forge, and at Stony Point, where, when leading his forces and falling, as was supposed, mortally wounded, he yet cried out to his men: "March on! Carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" Never was confidence better warranted. On the 15th of August, 1794 with an army of 2,600, he started on his March from Fort Washington to the Indian country. Victory perched on his banner at the battle of The Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee. His name became a terror to the Indians as Mad Anthony. They sued for peace, and the treaty at Greenville, in 1795, followed, giving peace to all the Territory for seventeen years. The remnant of his

victorious army returned in triumph to Fort Washington and was disbanded. The gallant General shortly after retiring to Erie, Penn., in broken health, where he died the following year, leaving an honored name for bravery and patriotism, which can never be forgotten by the people of these States. Conspicuous on his staff in all this campaign was a young officer, who but a year or two before had come from Virginia, and whom he afterward placed in command of Fort Washington as Captain, William Henry Harrison, the son of the President of the Congressional Committee of the Whole when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and whose name is appended to that instrument, and who was three times elected Governor of Virginia. The history of the son is too well known to more than name his career as first Delegate in Congress from this Territory, Governor of Indiana Territory, United States Senator, Commander-in-Chief of the Western forces at Tippecanoe, River Rasin, and the Thames, Minister to Columbia, and President of the United States.

And now, with peace once more restored, the people returned to all the peaceful avocations of life which had so long been invaded by war. All the old States poured the men and women of their best and bravest blood into the Territory. A new impulse was given to trade and agriculture. Forests were rapidly felled, towns sprang up as if by magic, all the hopes of the early pioneers were fast blossoming into fruit.

In 1798 the territory contained 15,000 white male inhabitants, and it was, therefore, entitled to enter on the second grade of the Territorial government. The government accordingly called the people to elect representatives to the first General Assembly, and required the members elected to meet at Cincinnati in convention, to nominate ten persons, to be returned to the President of the United States, out of whom five were to be selected by him, with the consent of the Senate, to be commis-

sioned as a Legislative Council. The representatives were chosen, and on the fourth of February, 1799, nominated ten names, out of which were commissioned Jacob Burnet and James Findlay, of Cincinnati; Henry Vanderburgh, of Vincennes; Robert Oliver, of Marietta, and David Vance, of Vanceville. A Legislative body was selected, composed of the most substantial men of the country.

Both branches assembled at Cincinnati September 16, 1799, and elected their officers. On the 3rd of October in joint session they elected William H. Harrison as the first Delegate to Congress. He had been acting as Secretary of the Territory, but immediately resigned and went to Philadelphia and took his seat in Congress. His first act was to offer a resolution to subdivide the surveys of public lands and have them offered for sale in small tracts. This he succeeded in having passed, although resisted by land speculators. This was 'a most beneficent measure. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to own his own home. He also obtained liberal extension for the payment of those who had acquired pre-emption rights. At the same session Congress divided the Northwest Territory by establishing the new Territory of Indiana, and Harrison was appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which he accepted and resigned his seat in Congress. The new Legislature applied itself assiduously to the work of reorganizing the laws of the Territory, and the subject of education engaged their most serious attention, and Congress was urged to secure to the Territory the title of lands promised for the support of schools and colleges, including section 16 in every township.

During the session a memorial was presented by officers of the Virginia line in Continental service in the Revolutionary war praying for toleration to remove with their slaves to the military bounty lands. As the Ordinance of 1787 prohibited it, the body had no other alternative but to reject it. "But," said Judge Burnet, a member of the body, (and the author of most of the early laws of the

State,) "the public feeling on the subject of admitting slavery into the Territory was such that the request would have been denied by a unanimous vote of the Legislature if it had the power of granting it." The next session was by act of Congress removed to Chillicothe, when William McMillan was elected delegate to Congress to fill the place of Mr Harrison till March 4th and Paul Fearing, of Marietta, for the two years thereafter. The Legislature met in Chillicothe in 1801, and sat from November to January, 1802, and adjourned to meet in Cincinnati in November following. In January, 1802, a census was taken of the eastern division of the Territory, which was found to contain 45,028 persons of both sexes, and application was made to Congress for leave to call a convention to establish a State government. This was granted, and on the 1st of November, 1802, the convention met at Chillicothe and remained in session till the 29th, when the constitution was ratified and signed by the members, and thus became the fundamental law without any submission to the people. The entire proceedings of the convention are contained in a pamphlet of forty-nine pages.

Its provisions were in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Ordinance of 1787 and Ohio then became one of the States of the Union, on equal terms with the other States, and under it our fathers proceeded to build up this great State. Although many thought the formation of the State was premature, yet it really proved the wisest course. It gave a spirit of ambition and independence to the people, which became visible in every avocation. This constitution remained in force fifty years, when a new one was adopted to suit the growing necessities of the people. Under that constitution new emigration set to the State, and soon the active industry of the farmers produced more food than supplied their necessities, and they began to seek market for it. But there were no railroads or turnpikes or canals, and the only available route for transportation was by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers

to the markets of New Orleans or the sea. This had, to some extent, been used by flat-boats, and in 1801 a ship was built at Marietta and successfully passed down to the ocean. But as Spain owned Louisiana, she put obstructions in the way of navigating these waters until her overthrow by Napoleon, who in 1803 conveyed the whole territory to the United States for eighty million of francs, or, about \$15,000,000, thus giving an unvexed way through the whole route to the sea.

Under all these favorable circumstances the State grew rapidly. The building of vessels began at Marietta, by that brave veteran seaman of the Revolution, Commodore Whipple, which carried the produce of the valley to New Orleans, England and Russia. Population rapidly increased, and peace spread all over our border, till in June, 1812, the incursion of the Indians on our northern and western borders, aided by the British traders, and the claim of Great Britain of the right to impress our seamen on the high seas, made it necessary for the United States to declare war against Great Britain. The Northwest Territory and Ohio were the principal theatres of the war. We met with defeat and disaster at first from the combined efforts of the British and Indians under command of Proctor and Tecumseh, but these were wiped out by the splendid achievements of Colonel Croghan's defense of Fort Stephenson, Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the total defeat of the allied British and savages on the Thames by General Harrison, and the closing triumph of General Jackson at New Orleans.

In all these contests the men of Ohio had a large share, and performed feats of valor worthy of their heroic ancestors.

Nor did this stay the onward progress of the State. In 1800 Ohio was the seventeenth State in population; in 1810, the thirteenth; in 1820, the fifth; in 1830, the fourth; in 1840, the third. In 1790 her population was 3,000; in 1800, 45,365; in 1820, 581,484; in 1830, 935,872;

in 1840, 1,519,467; in 1850, 1,980,408; in 1860, 2,339,511; in 1870, 2,665,260; in 1880, 3,198,239; an increase possibly in 1888 to 3,600,000, nearly equal to the population of the whole United States at the time of the Revolutionary war.

Its religious progress is marked by over ten thousand churches of all denominations.

In education—12,703 public school-houses, value, \$28,467,-409; 24,620 teachers; number of pupils in daily attendance, 577,844; annual expense, \$10,123,897. Besides these there are 320 incorporated colleges and academies, and 270 incorporated literary and library associations.

We have 9,363 miles of railroads, value \$91,264,178, paying an annual tax of \$1,504,093; 697 miles of canals, innumerable turnpikes, stretching over every one of the eighty-eight counties, most of them without toll to travelers; and the great swamps of the Northwest are drained by thousands of miles of ditches, making them the most fertile lands on the continent.

The State contains 25,535,846 acres of land of the value of \$712,436,424; this is divided into 240,000 farms. The chattel property in the duplicate is \$509,913,568, making a total value of chattel and real property of \$1,670,079,568, on which is paid an annual tax of \$31,167,510. Of the land 9,805,305 acres are cultivated as farms, and 6,214,862 acres as pasture. Over these farms and pasture roam 1,665,223 cattle, 4,295,839 sheep, 746,366 horses, 24,818 mules, 1,606,936 hogs. In 1886 we raised 40,366,868 bushels of wheat and 112,192,744 bushels of corn. We had 595,524 milch cows, from which were churned 45,769,819 pounds of butter. While the hens, partaking of the general industrial activity, laid 32,620,451 dozen of eggs. Of cheese 38,420,451 pounds were made, and 3,588,248 pounds exported from the State. Of wool we clipped 23,558,070 pounds.

We have 588 coal mines, employing 19,704 men, and produce 7,816,017 tons of coal, while the product of the numerous oil and natural gas wells simply defies all arith-

metical computation. In the last twenty-two months 6,694,539 barrels of oil have been produced. In every town in the State are numerous manufactories with steam engines, roaring and hammering, cutting and sawing out all articles of usefulness for other manufactories, for the farmers and for every useful avocation at home, and shipping machinery and manufactured articles to all parts of our own and foreign countries. The Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, reports his inspection in 1887 of 3581 factories and workshops in thirty towns, as employing 168,570 persons. Connecting all parts of the State and our own and foreign lands by instantaneous communication, there are 473,642 miles of telegraphic wire, and innumerable newspapers, daily and weekly, in nearly every city and town, to convey to every house the news from all the world. This is but a small fraction of the census of a State first settled one hundred years ago, and which, when admitted into the Union eighty-six years ago, John Randolph denominated "a mere geographical diagram beyond the Ohio River of vast deserts of woods inhabited by the Aborigines."

The mind staggers on an examination of the figures showing our vast resources and productions. And let it be remembered that all this has been accumulating amid the convulsion of many wars and financial difficulties. The war of 1812 drew thousands of men from industrial pursuits, but others kept the plow of agriculture going in the furrow. The Mexican war drew largely on our men and means, while the great rebellion, raging for four years, had in its ranks, marching and fighting to maintain the Union, nearly 400,000 Ohio soldiers, thousands of whom laid down their lives in the battle-fields, the swamps, prison-houses, and hospitals. Notwithstanding this great depletion, her farms were all the while being tilled to furnish food. All articles of useful machinery were being made, gun-boats built on her rivers and cannon at her foundries, and the humming of thousands of sewing-machines was heard,

propelled by wives and daughters in making clothing for the patriot soldiers. But, greater than all the physical wealth of the State is the constantly maintained high standard of industrial, moral, religious and intellectual wealth of character. She has been richly blessed with

"Men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights and knowing, dare maintain."

The valor of the Revolutionary hero, the stern, religious character of the Puritan, the lofty character of the Cavalier, have been mingled with the blood of all the best representatives who from foreign lands have here sought freedom from oppression. Enterprise, skill in all branches, education, religious teachings, law, statesmanship, oratory, military genius have here had representatives, the equal of any in the world. Ohio has had four Presidents of the United States, and has numerous other possibilities for the future; two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and has been otherwise ably represented on that bench; three Generals of the army by special act of Congress for greatest distinguished ability, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, an honor before that conferred alone on Washington; and well does this quartet wear the distinction of being first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of their countrymen. We have been represented in the Senate, Cabinet, Foreign Ministers and every important public position until it would seem that wherever great ability was desired there was a call for the Ohio man.

The hardy, adventurous, emigrant character which marked the men and women who first settled her soil is strongly inherited by their descendants, for we find them going out from her borders to populate all the Western and Southern States, and even to revive the lagging energies of the East. In 1870 she had, of her native-born children, 806,983 resident in other states. The Ohio

man as farmer, mechanic, professional man, governor or judge, is in every State from her western border to the Rocky mountains, and climbing over the summit in the mines and vineyards, ranches and cities of California to the Pacific Ocean. He seems to be ubiquitous, and to permeate the land like the atmosphere.

Such is a meager sketch of our State for the past century. Slowly but surely has the building of it gone on, and to-day it stands before the world with its solid foundation of religion, morality, education, freedom, equality before the law and protection to the rights of all persons and property, all the more strongly cemented by those years. As a State of the Union she has ever maintained the highest position in peace and in war, and her obligations to that government formed by the people and for the people have been most religiously performed. To that Union she owes her existence, and to sustain it she has poured out her richest blood and treasure, and will again in the future if occasion requires.

While we recognize the wisdom and toils of our fathers in all this wonderful growth, let us now, in the spirit of that religion which sustained and cheered them through it all, not forget that God, who was their Father and Leader, and guided them as by a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, who rules over the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth in righteousness, in whose hands are the destinies of all men and nations; and let our hearts go up to Him in thankfulness, for His hand hath wrought it all, and those men and women were but His ministers. May they who stand here at the end of another century look upon this temple of our State, still strong and stable, its foundation sure and steadfast, its towers and columns captivating by their beauty the eyes of the world, its people happy, united and prosperous in a government, the union of whose States shall be one of both hands and hearts, and the sun of religious liberty shining its pure and untarnished rays into every heart and home.

WHY IS OHIO CALLED THE BUCKEYE STATE?

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM M. FARRAR.

THE name Buckeye, as applied to the State of Ohio, is an accepted sobriquet, so well recognized and so generally understood throughout the United States, that its use requires no explanation, although the origin of the term and its significance are not without question, and therefore become proper subjects of consideration during this Centennial year.

The usual and most commonly accepted solution is, that it originates from the buckeye tree, which is indigenous to the State of Ohio and is not found elsewhere. This, however, is not altogether correct, as it is also found both in Kentucky and Indiana, and in some few localities in West Virginia, and perhaps elsewhere. But while such is the fact, its natural locality appears to be in the State of Ohio, and its native soil in the rich valleys of the Muskingum, Hockhocking, Scioto, Miamis, and Ohio, where in the early settlement of the State it was found growing in great abundance, and because of the luxuriance of its foliage, the richly colored dyes of its fruit, and its ready adaptation to the wants and conveniences of the pioneers, it was highly prized by them for many useful purposes.

It was also well known to and much prized by the Indians, from whose rude language comes its name, "Hetuck," meaning the eye of the buck, because of the striking resemblance in color and shape between the brown nut and the eye of that animal, the peculiar spot upon the one corresponding to the iris in the other. In its application, however, we have reversed the term, and call the person or thing to which it is applied a buckeye.

In a very interesting after-dinner speech, made by Dr. Daniel Drake, the eminent botanist and historian of the Ohio Valley, at a banquet given at the city of Cincinnati on the occasion of the forty-fourth anniversary of the

State, the buckeye was very ably discussed, its botanical classification given, its peculiar characteristics and distinctive properties referred to, and the opinion expressed that the name was at first applied as a nickname, or term of derision, but has since been raised into a title of honor.

This conclusion does not seem to be altogether warranted, for the name is not only of Indian origin, as stated, but the first application of it ever made to a white man was made by the Indians themselves, and intended by them as an expression of their highest sense of admiration.

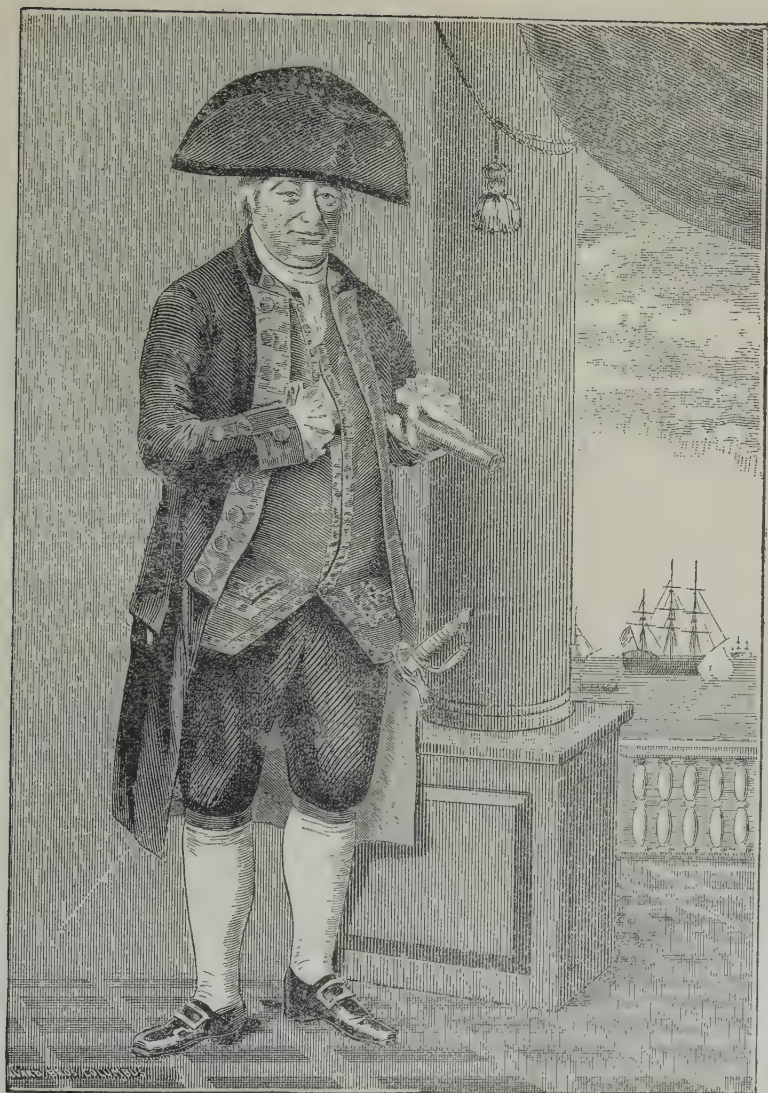
S. P. Hildreth, the pioneer historian of Marietta, to whom we are indebted for so many interesting events relating to the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum, tells us that upon the opening of the first court in the Northwest Territory, to-wit: on the 2d day of September, 1788, a procession was formed at the Point, where most of the settlers resided, and marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, in the following order:

- 1st. The High Sheriff with drawn sword.
- 2d. The citizens.
- 3d. Officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar.
- 4th. Members of the Bar.
- 5th. Supreme Judges.
- 6th. The Governor and clergymen.
- 7th. The newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, General Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

There, the whole countermarched and the judges, Putnam and Tupper took their seats; the clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, invoked the divine blessing, and the sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, proclaimed with his solemn O yes! that a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the guilty and the innocent without respect of persons, none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of law; and that although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the State, few ever

equalled it in the dignity and exalted characters of the actors; and that among the spectators who witnessed the ceremony and were deeply impressed by its solemnity and seeming significance, was a large body of Indians collected from some of the most powerful tribes of the Northwest, for the purpose of making a treaty with the whites. Always fond of ceremony among themselves, they witnessed the parade of which they little suspected the import, with the greatest interest, and were especially impressed with the high sheriff who led the procession with drawn sword; we are told that he was over six feet in height, well proportioned and of commanding presence, and that his fine physical proportions and dignified bearing excited their highest admiration, which they expressed by the word "Hetuck," or in their language "big buckeye." It was not spoken in derision, but was the expression of their greatest admiration, and was afterwards often jocularly applied to Colonel Sproat, and became a sort of nickname by which he was familiarly known among his associates. That was certainly its first known application to an individual in the sense now used, but there is no evidence that the name continued to be so used and applied from that time forward, or that it became a fixed and accepted sobriquet of the State and people until more than half a century afterwards.

During all of which time the buckeye continued to be an object of more or less interest, and as immigration made its way across the State, and the settlements extended into the rich valleys, where it was found by travelers and explorers, and was by them carried back to the East and shown as a rare curiosity, from what was then known as the "Far West," possessing certain medicinal properties for which it was highly prized. But the name never became fully crystallized until 1840, when in the crucible of what is known as the "bitterest, longest, and most extraordinary political contest ever waged in the United States," the name Buckeye became a fixed sobri-



COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

quet of the State of Ohio and its people, known and understood wherever either is spoken of, and likely to continue as long as either shall be remembered or the English language endures.

The manner in which this was brought about is one of the singular events of that political epoch.

General William Henry Harrison having become the candidate of his party for President, an opposition newspaper said "that he was better fitted to sit in a log cabin and drink hard cider than rule in the White House." The remark was at once taken up by his friends and became a party slogan of that ever-memorable canvass. Harrison became the log cabin candidate, and was pictured as sitting by the door of a rude log cabin through which could be seen a barrel of hard cider, while the walls were hung with coon skins and decorated with strings of buckeyes.

Political excitement spread with wonderful rapidity; there was music in the air, and on the 22d of February, 1840, a State convention was held at the city of Columbus to nominate a candidate for Governor. That was before the day of railroads, yet from most of the counties of the State, large delegations in wagons and on horseback made their way to the capital to participate in the convention. Among the many curious devices resorted to to give expression to the ideas embodied in the canvass, there appeared in the procession a veritable log cabin, from Clarke county, built of buckeye logs upon a wagon and drawn in the procession by horses, while from the roof and inside of the cabin was sung this song:

"Oh where, tell me where
Was your buckeye cabin made.

.

'Twas built among the merry boys,
Who wield the plough and spade,
Where the log cabins stand,
In the bonnie buckeye shade."

.

"Oh what, tell me what, is to be your cabin's fate?

.

We'll wheel it to the capitol and place it there elate,
For a *token* and a *sign* of the Bonnie Buckeye State."

From that time forward the buckeye became an important factor in the canvass, cabins were multiplied and drawn in processions at all the leading meetings. The name was applied to General Harrison as —

"Hurrah for the father of the Great West,
For the Buckeye who follows the plow."

The name was also applied to Mr. Corwin, the candidate for Governor, as —

"Tom Corwin is a Buckeye boy,
Who stands not for the pay."

And generally as —

"Come all ye jolly Buckeye boys,
And listen to my song."

"See what a host of lumber,
And buckeye poles are here —
And Buckeye boys without number,
Aloft the logs to rear."

But the buckeye was not only thus woven into song and sung and shouted from every log cabin, but it became a popular emblem of the party and an article of commerce, more especially along the old National Road, over which the public travel of the country was carried at that day in stage coaches; and men are yet living, who, in 1840, resided at Zanesville, and can remember seeing crowds of men and boys going to the woods in the morning and returning later in the day carrying great bundles of buckeye sticks, to be converted into canes and sold to travelers, or sent to adjoining States to be used for campaign purposes.

At a mass meeting held in western Pennsylvania in 1840, delegations were organized by townships, and at a preliminary meeting held to appoint officers to marshal the procession and make other necessary arrangements, it was resolved that each officer so appointed should provide himself with a buckeye cane as a badge of authority, and thereupon committees were sent to Ohio to procure a supply of canes for the occasion; with what success can be

judged from the fact that while a procession extending over two miles in length and numbering more than fifteen hundred people, halted on one of the Chartiers Creek hills until the one in front moved out of its way, an inventory taken showed the number of buckeye canes carried in the delegation to be 1,432, and in addition over one hundred strings of buckeye beads were worn by a crew of young ladies dressed in white, who rode in an immense canoe and carried banners representing the several States of the Union.

These may seem to be rather trivial affairs to be referred to on such an occasion as the present, but they serve to show the extent of the sentiment that prevailed at the time, and the molding process going on, so that when the long and heated canvass finally closed with a sweeping victory for the Buckeye candidate, the crystallization was complete, and the name "Buckeye" was irrevocably fixed upon the State and people of Ohio, and continues to the present day one of the most popular and familiar sobriquets in use.

So early as 1841 the President of an Eastern College established for the education of young women, showing a friend over the establishment said, "there is a young lady from New York, that one is from Virginia, and this," pointing to another, "is one of our new Buckeye girls." A few years later the Hon. S. S. Cox, a native Buckeye, and then a resident of Ohio, made a tour of Europe and wrote home a series of bright and interesting letters over the *nom de plume* of "A Buckeye Abroad," which were extensively read and helped still further to fix the name and give it character. The Buckeye State has now a population of more than three million live Buckeyes, Buckeye coal and mining companies, Buckeye manufactories of every kind and description, Buckeye reapers and mowers, Buckeye stock, farms, houses, hotels, furnaces, rolling mills, gas and oil wells, fairs, conventions, etc., and on to-morrow we propose to celebrate a Buckeye centennial.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

A PAPER BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON, DAVID FISHER.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — From the printed circular I hold in my hand, I read, “the seventh of April, 1888, is a day in which the immediate descendants of the first settlers of Marietta principally have an interest.”

As a descendant of Commodore Whipple, it is with emotions of reverence, pleasure, and pride that I am permitted to be present at the Centennial Celebration of Marietta, and pay respect to the memory of those resolute, determined, fearless pioneers, who founded this beautiful city, from which has extended the civilization, growth, prosperity, and influence of the “Great Northwest.” How many, or who of these descendants there may be present, I am not aware, but to all such I extend a hearty greeting.

The little I may have to say will have reference particularly to Commodore Whipple and incidents in his earlier life, leaving to other and more competent persons the eulogies of Putnam, Cutler, Varnum, Parsons, Tupper, Sproat, Devol, Meigs, and others.

Commodore Abraham Whipple was born near Providence, R. I., September 26, 1733. At the age of thirteen, his father having sold his farm, he, with his parents, removed to Providence. In 1761, August 2, Whipple married Sarah Hopkins, a niece of Governor Hopkins. By this marriage they had two daughters, Catherine, who married Lieutenant Colonel Sproat, and Polly, who married Dr. Ezekial Comstock, of Smithfield, R. I. By this last marriage there were two children, Dr. W. W. Comstock, who died a few years since at Middleboro, Mass., and Sarah Ann, who was my mother, and who died at Wrentham, Mass., in September, 1855. Colonel Sproat died at Marietta, August 29, 1819, his wife having died October 15, 1818.

The close of the Revolutionary war found many, who

had risked their all in sustaining the government, *penniless* and in want, the paper currency in which they had been paid having depreciated to almost a worthless value. This poverty was, in great measure, the cause of the forming of the "Massachusetts and Rhode Island Company," who hoped by seeking new homes in the then far West to regain at least a small part of what they had lost, or at least to secure a living for themselves and families. If I have been rightly informed, Commodore Whipple and Rufus Putnam made the journey from Providence to Marietta in the fall of 1787, and on their return to New England with a favorable report, the colony decided to remove in the spring of 1788 to where Marietta now stands, arriving April seventh of the same year.

From boyhood Whipple had a strong love for the sea, and before he was twenty-one years of age had made several voyages. During these voyages he taught himself navigation and book-keeping.

In the old French war he became captain of the privateer sloop "Game Cock," and, as reported in the *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser* of February 4, 1760, he, during one voyage, took twenty-three prizes, from which he realized some \$60,000, a very large sum at that time.

Commodore Whipple was a man of great muscular power, undoubted courage and daring, a lover of the truth, generous and kind, possessed of a mind fertile in expedients, which often made him a match for superior forces. As an illustration: In one voyage he was chased by a French privateer, with more men and guns than himself, but having made as great a show of men as possible, by setting up hand spikes with hats and caps on them, he boldly turned his vessel and bore square on the enemy, who, taken aback by the maneuver, with all haste escaped from their cunning opponent.

The *one thing* for which Commodore Whipple's name should be kept in remembrance is the fact that he struck the *first* blow of the Revolution, in 1772, on the water.

On the 17th of June, 1772, the packet "Hannah," plying between Providence and New York, was chased by the armed British vessel "Gaspee," and was decoyed by Whipple to a shoal place, where the "Gaspee" stuck fast, while Whipple, in the "Hannah," reached Providence in safety. The news created great excitement, and a large crowd was soon collected by the beating of drums. On a sudden a man, disguised as an Indian, appeared on the roof of a house near by, and gave notice of a secret expedition that night, and invited all stout hearts to assemble at the wharf at nine o'clock that evening, disguised like himself. That man was Whipple. That night sixty men obeyed the call, and went out in eight row boats to capture an armed vessel. There was but one musket in the expedition. They were hailed by the sentinel on board the "Gaspee," demanding who commanded those boats. Whipple replied: "I am Sheriff of the County of Kent and Providence Plantations. I come to arrest Captain Dudingston, and if you do not at once surrender will blow you to atoms." The boats were well supplied with stones of a convenient size, which were brought into use. Whipple fired the musket, wounding the sentinel in the thigh, and at the same time the men poured in a broadside of stones, which soon cleared the deck of the "Gaspee," and Whipple, leading the men, soon had possession. They secured the men as prisoners, fired the vessel, returning to Providence without casualties. A Royal Commission offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the capture of any one engaged in the assault, and afterwards a reward for the body of the Sheriff of the County of Kent, dead or alive, but without success, as those loyal men could not be bought. The silver cup I now hold in my hand was at that time taken from the "Gaspee."

In May, 1776, the Legislature of Rhode Island passed an act renouncing all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and *ten days before* the battle of Bunker Hill the same Legislature purchased and armed two sloops, giving

the command of one to Whipple. On the 15th of June, 1775, Whipple, in his official capacity, attacked two British boats, capturing them and, by this act, fired the first gun of the Revolution on the water.

This bold act was done under the guns of the British frigate "Rose," commanded by Sir William Wallace. Wallace in the meantime had learned who captured and burnt the "Gaspee" and wrote the following curt note: "You, Abraham Whipple, burned His Majesty's vessel, the 'Gaspee,' and I will hang you at yard arm. Signed, William Wallace." To this Whipple replied with commendable point, "To Sir William Wallace, Sir: Always catch a man before you hang him. Abraham Whipple."

Whipple soon after received an appointment under Congress, and did great execution among the trading resorts of the enemy, and there is nothing more admirable in the history of the Revolution than the daring shown by Whipple in attacking armed vessels many times superior in size, men, and armament.

One of the boldest exploits performed by Whipple was in 1778, when he was ordered to fit the frigate "Providence" for sea and carry important despatches to our Minister in France. The great difficulty was to get to sea through the cordon of the enemy's ships; but with a picked crew, the bold mariners, who knew every channel, taking advantage of a very dark and stormy night, succeeded. He passed within half a pistol shot of the British frigate "Lark," of forty guns, pouring in a broadside and then passing the frigate "Renown," of sixty-eight guns, by a ruse deceiving the enemy as he cried in stentorian voice to his helmsman, "Pass her on the Narragansett side," while in a quiet tone he ordered the man to steer to the opposite side.

He reached Nantes, a French port, in twenty-six days, capturing, during the voyage, a merchant ship. On his return voyage he loaded his ship with clothing, arms and ammunition, and safely reached the United States. For

this gallant act Whipple received from Washington, Franklin, Adams and others, complimentary letters.¹

At the capture of Charleston, S. C., in 1778, Whipple was taken prisoner and with his companions remained such to the close of the war, because the British saw no other way to preserve their commerce from the bold seaman. At Chester, Pa., where he was confined as prisoner, he hired a house for the use of his sick men, and in 1786 petitioned Congress to refund his expenses, stating that, in order to perform this act of humanity, he had been obliged to mortgage his little farm. He says: "The farm is now gone, and having been sued out of possession, I am turned out into the world at an advanced age, feeble and penniless, with my wife and children, destitute of a house or home I can call my own, or have the means of hiring." "This calamity has arisen from two causes, viz.: In France, Charleston, and Chester I expended in the service of the United States three hundred and sixty guineas, besides the sea stores for a number of gentlemen sent by the commissioner in France to the United States in my care, for which I received nothing; and secondly, my having served the United States from June 15, 1775, to December, 1782, without receiving a farthing of wages or subsistence from them since 1776. My advances in France and Charleston amount to nearly \$7,000 in specie, exclusive of interest. The repayment of this, or a part, might be the means of my regaining my farm, and snatch my family from misery, want and ruin." The result of this petition was his being paid for his expenditure in France only, and this payment in "Continental" paper money, which he was obliged to dispose of at *eighty per cent. discount* to keep his family from suffering. On more than one occasion he was forced to beg for bread. Who can listen to this recital without feelings of pity and mortification? The neglect and indifference manifested by Congress towards the just rights and claims of Whipple

¹For two letters, never before published, concerning this voyage, see p. 186.

will always remain a stigma and blot on the United States.

In 1784 Whipple commanded the first American vessel that unfurled the stars and stripes in the Thames after the Peace.

In April, 1788, he emigrated to Marietta, and after "Mad Anthony's" peace with the Indians in 1796, he removed to a farm of about twelve acres on the Muskingum river, a few miles from Marietta, sixty-three years old, broken in health, with no other means of support. He and his aged partner lacked even comfortable food and clothing. In 1811, when he was seventy-eight years old, he was granted a pension of \$30 per month.

In 1802 he commanded the first rigged vessel built on the Ohio, and had the honor of conducting her to the ocean.

Commodore Whipple lived to be eighty-five years of age, dying May 29th, 1819; his wife died the year previous. In yonder beautiful "City of the Dead" they rest, his grave marked with a monument on which is inscribed an epitaph from which nothing could be erased, but much added. I am unable to determine the exact location of the grave of Mrs. Whipple.

Such, Mr. President, is a hurried and brief history of Commodore Whipple—the lives of other of the emigrants to Marietta were equally honorable—all contributing of their ability and means to found and sustain that liberty and independence which has made the United States "the greatest of nations."

What noble examples for us all, and especially the young, to emulate. Would that the same integrity of purpose, the same liberality, love of right, and love of country which actuated our forefathers, might always be our standard! May we fully appreciate our responsibilities! Let every one feel it their duty and obligation to assist in the performance of these sacred duties and act accordingly.

Then may you ask the patriotic American, "when will you sell the liberties you now prize so highly?" With his

hand resting on the tombs of his fathers, whose examples he venerates, and his eyes raised to the God in whom he trusts, he will answer, "Never!"

NOTE.—The following letters have never before been published. They are in the possession of Mrs. Agnes B. Tribon, of Middleboro, Mass., great-granddaughter of Commodore Whipple.

[B. Franklin, A. Lee and John Adams to Abm. Whipple.]

PARIS, June 23-1778.

Sir.—As we have a prospect of an Exchange of Prisoners you are directed to send us with all possible dispatch, a list or Return of all the prisoners you have in your custody, and we shall give orders concerning them as soon as we shall be informed to what place they are to be sent, to be exchanged.

As to your future destination, we desire you to take on Board your Frigate as many arms and cloaks or other merchandise as you can without impeding her in sailing or fighting, and no more, with which you are to acquaint Mr. Schwerghauser who will send them on Board—if Mr. Schwerghauser should have a Vessel bound to America, with stores for the public you are to take her under your convoy.

You are to use your best endeavors to make Prizes in the course of your Passage and in all respects to annoy the enemy, as much as you can and are at liberty to go out of your way, for so good a purpose. If you can take or destroy any of the enemies Fisheries on the Banks of New Foundland you are not to omit the opportunity.

As transports are constantly passing between England and Halifax, Rhode Island, New York and Philadelphia, and from each of these places to all the others, you will use your very best Endeavors to intercept some of them.

If you should have despatches committed to your care, either from the government of this Kingdom, or from us, you are to have them carefully enclosed in lead, and in case of misfortune, which God forbid you are to take effectual care, by sinking them that they may not fall into the enemies hands. We wish you a prosperous Cruise and voyage, and are with much respect Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servants.

Capt. Abraham Whipple
of the Providence Frigate.

B. FRANKLIN
ARTHUR LEE
JOHN ADAMS

[G. Washington to Abm. Whipple.]

HEAD QUARTERS FREDRICK'SBURG
25, Nov, 1778.

Sir.—Major Nicolass handed me your favor of the 12th, inst.

I am greatly pleased with the gallant circumstance of your passage through a blockaded harbour; and much obliged to you for the detail of your voyage. It was very agreeable to hear of your safe arrival, with the valuable articles of your invoice. With my best wishes for your future success I am sir
Your most humble Servant.

Capt. Ab'm Whipple Esq.

G. WASHINGTON.

A FAMILIAR TALK ABOUT MONARCHISTS AND JACOBINS.

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

WHEN I received an invitation to address the Historical Society here to-night, the suggestion was made by a member of your committee that I take the life and public services of John Brough for my theme. Born within the limits of your city, the son of one of the pioneer fathers, it were fitting that he should be remembered on an occasion of such historical interest. It was gratifying to be remembered in connection with one whom I knew and loved so well. But the greatness of his abilities, the eminent services he rendered the State in early manhood, and the self-sacrificing and patriotic devotion to the National cause during the final struggle which resulted in the restoration of the Union, required more careful attention than a very busy man could devote to the subject on such brief notice. Furthermore, my library, papers, and private memoranda of conversations during those eventful years were a thousand miles away, and inaccessible.

Instead of addressing you on that larger and, to me personally, more interesting subject, I am to talk to you in a desultory way of the men and parties that controlled Ohio as a territory, and for some years as a State, with special reference to the life and public career of Jeremiah Morrow.

The members of the little colony planted here one hundred years ago were ardent Federalists. Their strong personality was impressed upon every measure establishing social order, and the settlements made by the Ohio Company, as well as those on the Scioto and Miami rivers, and the Lake, grew up and flourished under this influence. The French on the Wabash, the Illinois and Mississippi, when they received the Ordinance of 1787 from Governor

St. Clair, gave assurance of loyal support. The selection of the President of the Congress that passed the Ordinance—the last Continental Congress—for Governor, was a wise one. The enterprise was essentially an experiment. A wilderness controlled and peopled by savages was to be subdued, and out of it five Commonwealths, the equal of the thirteen colonies, created. The task was an arduous one, and certainly hazardous, requiring courage, endurance, patience, and a high order of intelligence. Congress had provided the most perfect charter yet devised for republican government—the first charter distinctly proclaiming the brotherhood of man—a charter declaring in plain terms that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia provided the men and women, among the very best members of their respective communities, to establish government under it. Their chief magistrate was a man of ripe experience, as well as of thorough education. A soldier under Wolfe, a trusted agent of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, a magistrate over an extensive district, a Major General during the Revolutionary war, honored by the friendship of Washington, a friend and associate of La Fayette, President of the Continental Congress, and, because of his brilliant conversational powers, a favorite in the drawing room; handsome in form and dignified in bearing, he was a leader calculated to win the hearts of all. St. Clair, during the years of war, sacrificed a fortune for his country; in taking upon himself the labor and risk of administering a government over a vast territory stretching from the Ohio to the Mississippi, he sacrificed the comforts of home, the social advantages of the East, and brilliant political prospects which would have justified him in refusing the office.

It is worth our while to review some of his opinions of government, to enable us to judge correctly of his fitness for this important administrative office. We find these

expressed in pamphlets and communications to the press, written after the Peace and in the reports and recommendations of the majority of the Council of Censors, of which he was a member.

One of Dr. Franklin's political hobbies was, that the supreme legislative power of the State should be vested in a single body. This principle was incorporated in the Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania, which was formed and adopted in 1776, under the influence of that great man. It led to much mischief and oppression, and yet to the great surprise of the students of history, the debates in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, show that he was not convinced, at that period, that it was not the best form of government.¹

In the colonial days the principles of Republican government, by which harmony is preserved between the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and all made immediately responsible to the people, were not everywhere accepted and not in Pennsylvania in 1776. The leaders in the constitutional convention of that year devised an ingenious and unique plan for bringing the government of Pennsylvania under popular review. It was a provision for the election in 1783, and thereafter every seven years by the freemen of the cities and counties, of a body of review and recommendation to be called the Council of Censors. This council was to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part; whether the legislative and executive branches of the government had performed their duties as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves greater powers than they were entitled to; and whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected. This was a device

¹This statement is based upon rather vague passages in the Madison paper and Elliot's Debates. If correct, it would show that Dr. Franklin had changed his opinion on this subject a second time, as in a foot note in one of his pamphlets issued from the press in 1783, General St. Clair speaks of the "inconsistency of that great man"—Dr. Franklin at that time being classed with the opponents of a single legislative body.

worthy of a speculative philosopher, but impracticable, as the Council had no power to enforce its findings.

The Pennsylvania constitution provided that a new constitutional convention could not be called unless recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Council of Censors. This could not be secured, because six of the members were office holders under the old system, who were sure to lose by any change, and they voted steadily with the minority against a new convention, and against all recommendations for reform of the civil service. St. Clair, indignant at the corruption, addressed the public in a pamphlet, in which he laid bare the fact that these six men had been found unfaithful to their trust, and by their unwarranted presence in the Council prevented reform and prosecutions for violations of law. This failure of the scheme to protect the people is a striking illustration of the impracticable in politics, and invites to humorous reflections at the expense of the philosopher, who was undoubtedly the author of it.

St. Clair, as the leader of the majority, made an exhaustive report on the Constitution of 1776, pointing out its defects, and subsequently submitted a plan of government embodying his views of what the fundamental law of a State should be. It is not my purpose to traverse his reports to-night; suffice it to remark that his plan was similar as to a division of the powers of government to that embodied in the Federal constitution and in most of the State constitutions; and that this and his arguments in its support were made public four years before the Federal Convention of 1787. Many of the arguments advanced in the discussions in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in the *Federalist*, which have been applauded by writers and statesmen, were made use of in 1783 by St. Clair.

His comment on a many-headed executive, as exemplified in the Pennsylvania Executive Council, which choose one of their number President, deserves to be repeated. He said:

"An Executive Council is a monster. It may do great harm, and never can do any good; it will ever want that energy and promptness that are essential to an executive body, for it is not executive, but deliberative. It destroys all responsibility, and is a very useless expense. If the President has abilities, the Council are but the solemn witnesses of his acts; if he is ambitious at the same time, they will be found to be his useful instruments; if he is cruel or revengeful, at once his ready tools and a defense behind which he at any time can shelter himself; if rapacious, they will share with him in the plunder of their country. I wish for the honor of human nature, no such combination could ever be found; but we know they have existed together in other countries; they may exist together in this."

Justices of the peace, he thought, should be elected by the freemen, but as the lives and property of the citizens depended in a great degree upon the judges of the higher courts, he held that they should be appointed for life, or during good behavior, in order that they might be made independent of political influences.

He held that the Legislature should consist of an upper and a lower house—or a Senate and an Assembly—and that the action of the majority should be final, except in the case of the exercise of the veto power by the Governor, when a two-thirds vote should be required to pass a bill over the executive negative. It was his opinion that no reasons against a law ought to appear upon the minutes. "If," said he, "the bill passes by a majority of one only, it is as binding as if it had passed with unanimous consent. A dissent, with reasons, on the minutes can answer no end but to foment party disputes and weaken the force of the law and impede its execution. But the happiness of a State is so intimately combined with a vigorous execution of, and prompt obedience to, the laws that, where these are wanting, anarchy must ensue. If the laws are found imperfect or oppressive, they should be amended or repealed.

The privilege of entering the yeas and nays is all that any member should desire, and is as much as is consistent with order and good government."

All very trite to-day, but over a hundred years ago in Pennsylvania a desperate contest followed this public utterance of St. Clair's—Smilie, Findlay and others who took on the character of a fierce democracy, declared that such a restriction would prove to be the instrument of a corrupt aristocracy leading to tyranny, and filling the lands with their cries.

St. Clair also held advanced views on other questions which to-day very much disturb the peace of politicians wearing Democratic and Republican labels. He objected to the clause in the Constitution of '76 which provided for rotation in office, as he declared it to be against the public good, for the following reasons:

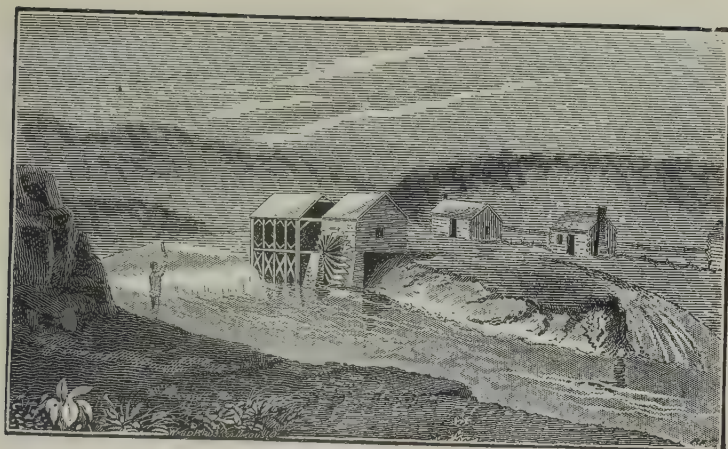
1. Because the hope to reappointment to office is amongst the strongest incentives to the due execution of the trust it confers.

2. Because the State is thereby necessarily deprived of the services of useful men for a time, and compelled to make experiment of others who may not prove equally wise and virtuous.

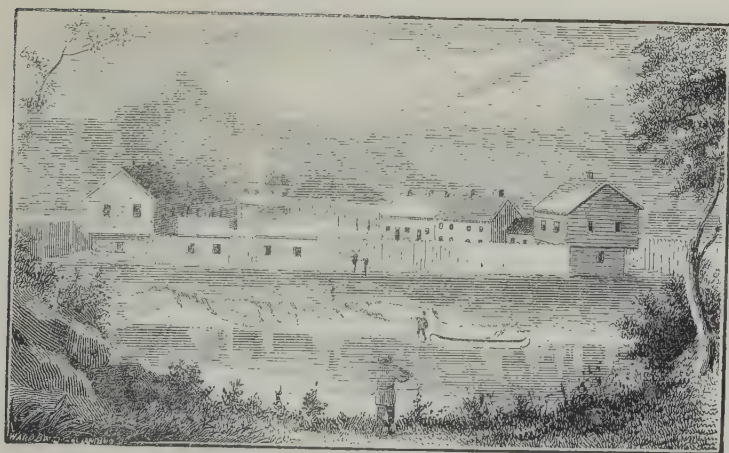
3. Because the check intended by such principle of rotation can be of no good effect to repress inordinate ambition, unless it were extended so as to preclude a man from holding any office whatever.

4. Because the privilege of the people in elections is so far infringed as that they are thereby deprived of the right of choosing those persons whom they would prefer.

St. Clair objected to giving to immigrants all of the privileges of citizens after only a brief residence, as it was calculated to prevent the establishment of a government by habits and prejudices, "which often bind mankind more powerfully than laws." Coming from monarchical and aristocratic governments, they brought with them ideas at war with republican principles, and being the victims of



WOLF CREEK MILLS, 1789.



FORT FRYE, WATERFORD, 1792.

oppression they would be too often moved to view all forms of law as unjustly restraining and threatening personal liberty. A period should be allowed for educating the newcomers before entrusting them with all the responsibilities of American citizenship. A moderate share of property he deemed essential to make an elector independent. "I do not count independence and wealth always together," said he, "but I pronounce poverty and dependence to be inseparable."

These views enable us to estimate the ability and character of the leader chosen to establish Government in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, under the first purely Republican—the first purely American—charter formed on the Western continent. For thirteen years he never faltered; for thirteen years he had the support of the little colony headed by Rufus Putnam, whose landing on this spot you celebrate to-morrow—and in the end the work was crowned with success.

Although so distant from the centre of political strife, Washington's former companions in arms here located, sympathized with the National administration and gave it loyal support.

Soon political affairs in the territory took on the character of those east of the mountains, and the dominating power was Federal; the opposing Anti-Federal. The act defining the boundaries of a county, the selection of a site for a county seat, the appointment of justices, attorneys, and sheriffs, arrayed men against each other on the lines of national politics, notwithstanding the real motive often originated in personal gain or loss. The whisky rebels of Western Pennsylvania received no sympathy from the loyal people of the territory, whose officers joined in search for the fugitives from justice. As population increased, and the victims of baffled ambition multiplied, the Anti-Federalists took on a bolder front, and in some places defied the territorial administration. They received encouragement from the Kentucky Republicans, who were

building up a commonwealth under conditions less favorable, in important respects, than those enjoyed by the people north of the Ohio. "News, we have none," wrote St. Clair to his son Daniel in 1798; "but the madness of Kentucky, and of that you will hear enough from the public papers without my troubling either you or myself with it. Everything in the political hemisphere is as right on our side of the river as I could wish it. Although we are so near neighbors, the people on this side of the river are the very antipodes of Kentuckians."

It will be seen that four years wrought a change that must have surprised the Federalists of the territory. They did not hold their supremacy, as they confidently expected. The contests led to irregularities in the admission of Ohio into the Union, to which I will now invite your attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a compact made between the government of the thirteen colonies and the inhabitants of the Territory, and could not be changed without the consent of both parties. It was so perfect an instrument that there was no warrant for tampering with it. Effort was made repeatedly to change it, at the instance of inhabitants of Southern origin, for the purpose of introducing slavery, and it came near meeting with success in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois as well as in Congress. That disaster was averted through the labors of a few wise men who looked beyond their day and generation. We shall see that there was tampering for political purposes, and because of this Ohio was admitted at an earlier day than would otherwise have been possible. Mr. Jefferson's first election was secured on a very narrow margin—it was by the grace and personal interposition of his old enemy, Alexander Hamilton. It was desirable that a new Republican State should be formed before the next election, in 1804. The parties were so evenly divided in the Territory that the political complexion of the electoral vote of the State would depend on whether it was admitted

through the instrumentalities of the Republican or the Federalist party. The Virginia colony in Ross county were ambitious to give the State to Jefferson and win the right to share in the national councils. They were young and ambitious and skillful in the manipulation of politics. At first they proposed to make Ohio a Republican State, with St. Clair as Governor, but Symmes and Findlay and John Smith (the Smith of Burr's conspiracy) protested so vigorously, the scheme was abandoned. St. Clair had offended Symmes by insisting that he should set apart the university section in his purchase, as he had contracted to do. He had removed Findlay from an office he had disgraced, and later he had reported Thomas Worthington for violation of the land laws and the rights of settlers. St. Clair was stiff and uncompromising, and these politicians determined to break his neck, as they could not bend it. They assailed his character, and preferred charges against him, only one of which proved serious, and that was due to a misunderstanding of the instructions of the State Department. Mr. Jefferson refused to act on these, and the scheme was likely to fail, when the Federalists themselves, by imprudence in counter-marching, made a breach through which the enemy marched to victory. St. Clair, General Putnam, Dr. Cutler and Judge Burnet, who were the real founders of Ohio, were anxious that when admitted as a State Ohio should be Federalist. They got up a scheme so to alter the boundaries of the eastern division of the Territory as to make the Scioto the western boundary line. This would have reduced the population of the Eastern division, and kept it in territorial condition for some years longer. A bill, drafted by Judge Burnet, was passed by the Territorial Legislature. This gave the Republicans a fulcrum at Washington, and they used it with such effect as to knock the Federalists out in the second round.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the State lines, and

for the admission of the territorial divisions into the Union as States. The language is mandatory :

"Whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government."

An enabling act was not called for. All necessary authority was already provided, and hence the act of Congress of April 30, 1802, was a direct interference in the internal affairs of the territory. If General Putnam and Dr. Cutler had stood stoutly up to this, and had not set the example of departing from the work of the Continental Congress, the result would have been different. They were masters of the situation, as they had all of the machinery in Federalist hands. But they made a fatal mistake in attempting to compete with the Virginians in political intrigue; a mistake often made since in succeeding generations.

The leaders of the Virginia (or Republican) party were Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Dr. Edward Tiffin, Jeremiah Morrow, and Return J. Meigs, Jr., young men of high character, who were actuated by an honorable ambition to give to the new State a **more** liberal form of government than they believed the Federalists would or could give. They denounced the latter as monarchists with as glib a tongue as the followers of St. Thomas east of the mountains, and in return were denounced as Jacobins, sympathizers with the reign of blood and anarchy in France. The partizanship of the beginning of the nineteenth century was a blind, unreasoning partizanship, that turned brother against brother, and filled the land with hate and unhappiness. That is a striking picture Dr. Cutler gives us of Martha Washington pouring tea and coffee for visiting Federalists, while entertaining them with sarcastic remarks on the new order of things. We

are assured that "she spoke of the election of Mr. Jefferson, whom she considered as one of the most detestable of mankind, as the greatest misfortune our country had ever experienced."

Dr. Cutler himself thought at first, from the tone of Jefferson's inaugural, that he would disappoint the Jacobins, and give the country a conservative administration; but when the bill for remodeling the Judiciary passed Congress he was certain that the Cabinet had decreed the destruction of the Constitution.

On the other hand if we were to read the original draft of a letter on file in the State department from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, written one month after the inauguration of the latter, we would find the party of Washington denounced as enemies of a Republican government, and the new President advised to turn out the rascals who had been commissioned by that great man, and fill their places with trustworthy Democrats.

Having sent Governor Arthur St. Clair, the leader of the Federalists, back to his Pennsylvania hermitage, I crave your attention for a few moments longer while I introduce to your notice another Pennsylvanian, one of the ablest of the leaders of the Democracy, whose honorable career is a part of the history of Ohio.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JEREMIAH MORROW.

While looking over some old manuscripts the other day, I chanced upon the following sentence in a letter to John Sargeant, from a correspondent in 1827, who was canvassing the names of persons mentioned for the office of Vice President:

"Governor Morrow," he said, "is an estimable, but assuredly not a strong man." This is the judgment of a contemporary who was favorable to the pretensions of another. We shall see whether it is correct.

Jeremiah Morrow was a member of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory; a member of the Constitutional

Convention of November, 1802; of the first General Assembly of Ohio; he was the first, and for ten years the sole representative of the State in the lower house of Congress; six years a member of the United States Senate; was elected Governor of the State for two terms, and at the earnest solicitation of his neighbors served them again in his old age in Congress and in the Legislature. This is not the record of an ordinary man.

Governor Morrow was of Scotch-Irish descent, his family being a branch of the Scotch family of Murray. His ancestors are traced through the north of Ireland to Scotland. Some of his ancestors bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Londonderry in 1689, and from this place his grandfather, Jeremiah Murray, emigrated to America in 1730. He had but one son, John, who first adopted the present orthography of the name, and who was a well-to-do farmer of Adams county, Pennsylvania. This John Morrow, or Murray, had three sons, the eldest of whom, named after the grandfather, is the subject of my sketch. He was born near Gettysburg, October 6th, 1771. Jeremiah had the experience of all farmers' boys, plenty of work to do and limited terms at such schools as the country afforded. Like other ambitious young men he acquired enough of mathematics to become an efficient surveyor, and thus equipped, with a taste for reading, he entered on practical life and soon made up for the lack of the extrinsic aids of a college education. He went to the Ohio valley in about the year 1796, and was employed as a school teacher and surveyor at Columbia. While thus engaged he purchased a considerable tract of land on the Little Miami, about thirty miles from its mouth, in what is now Warren county. He returned to Pennsylvania for a wife, and on the 19th of February, 1799, he married Mary Parkhill of Fayette county, who accompanied him to the west to share the privations of a pioneer life. He had erected a log cabin, and was soon busy felling trees and preparing the land for cultivation.

Mr. Morrow won the confidence of his neighbors, and in 1801 they sent him to represent them in the Territorial Legislature—the first legislative body that met in the old State House at Chillicothe.

Mr. Morrow had been in correspondence with Colonel Worthington, and although the Federalists were very strong in Hamilton county, which he represented, he was recognized as belonging to the Republican party, which had been organized in the new country by the Virginians. When Jacob Burnet, of the Council, had succeeded in getting his bill providing for a division of the territory enacted into a law, the minority protested so vigorously that Congress refused to approve of the measure, and the Federalists never afterwards recovered. Within one year a convention had convened, and Mr. Morrow participated in the work of framing the Constitution for the new State. He was Chairman of the committee that prepared and reported the fourth article of the Constitution prescribing the qualifications of electors.

After the admission of the State into the Union, Mr. Morrow, as member of the first State Senate, bore a distinguished part in the work of adapting the territorial laws to the new order of things introduced by the adoption of a State government. At the special election, held on the twenty-first of June, 1803, he was elected a representative in Congress, and held that office for ten consecutive years. When, under a new apportionment, the State was allowed a larger representation, Mr. Morrow was transferred to the Senate.

When Mr. Morrow entered the House he was assigned to the Committee on Public Lands, the very first standing committee charged with the care of this important interest appointed in the House. He subsequently served in both Houses as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. He was by nature and experience well fitted for this work, which required a practical mind and a sound judgment. He knew thoroughly the wants of the settlers, and

possessed the firmness, independence and moral courage to resist the lobby-scheming of land speculators. His opinion on any subject relating to the public domain uniformly commanded the respect of Congress, so that it came to pass that almost all of the laws providing for the survey and disposal of the public lands during the period he was in Congress, were drafted by him.

Let us pause to hear the estimate put upon this part of Mr. Morrow's public services by the most competent authority of his day: "During the long period in the House of Representatives and in the Senate," said Henry Clay, "that Ohio's upright and unambitious citizen, the first representative of the State, and afterwards Senator and Governor, presided over the Committee on Public Lands we heard of no chimerical schemes. All went on smoothly, quietly and safely. No man in the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old States and the new. A few artless but sensible words pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported."

In 1806, Mr. Morrow, in the House, in connection with Mr. Worthington, of Ohio, and General Samuel Smith, of Maryland, of the Senate, introduced measures which led to the improvement known as the Cumberland road. It is scarcely possible at this day, when every part of the continent is accessible by railroad or steamboat, and almost every neighborhood has its paved or macadamized road for wagons and pleasure carriages, to conceive of the great commercial importance this macadamized highway, connecting the navigable waters of the Atlantic with a tributary of the Mississippi, was to the people of Ohio and Kentucky. The policy of internal improvements was one that Washington had much at heart, and as a part of a general system, especially a road connecting the Potomac

with the Ohio. It remained for particularists to deny to the national government under the Constitution any power to aid in the work of internal improvements. Mr. Morrow and Colonel Worthington, although active members of Mr. Jefferson's Republican party, continued zealous in seeking governmental aid in the extension of commerce. At the opening of the Fourteenth Congress—a congress celebrated not less for the important measures it originated than for the distinguished men enrolled as members—Mr. Morrow was placed at the head of a committee in the Senate to whom was referred so much of the President's message as related to roads and canals, and on the 6th of February, 1816, he presented an able and lucid report on the whole subject, the first, I believe, ever presented in either house recommending a general system of internal improvements.

When Mr. Morrow's term in the Senate expired in 1819, he declined a re-election, and returned to his farm. But public sentiment was against his retiring, and he was appointed a Canal Commissioner in 1820, and again in 1822. As, however, he was elected Governor in this latter year, he declined to act as commissioner. During the four years he filled the gubernatorial chair, he was industriously furthering the interests of the State, encouraging the construction of roads and promoting the great enterprise of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river by means of canals, an enterprise that had a remarkable influence over the future character of the population of the State and of advancing the grade of the State in the Union. It was the Fourth of July, 1825, that the work was begun, De Witt Clinton assisting Governor Morrow at the ceremonies. Clinton was induced to visit Ohio by a few over-zealous friends who promised a presidential boom, but we are assured by the correspondence of the day that the influence of "Harry of the West" was so manifest wherever he went as to disturb the mind of the New York guest. He said many ugly things about Mr.

Clay afterwards, and while he did not reach the presidential chair, he did defeat Mr. Clay in New York, and thereby broke the hearts of thousands.

During this same year Governor Morrow welcomed La Fayette to the State — the occasion being made much of by all who could possibly reach Cincinnati, where the reception took place. In his account of his tour, La Fayette speaks pleasantly of the Governor and of the people of Ohio.

At the close of his second gubernatorial term, Governor Morrow again tried to retire to public life, but his neighbors sent him to the State Senate. In 1828 he headed the electoral ticket for John Quincy Adams, and in 1832 the Clay and Sargeant electoral ticket. He was also the first President of the Little Miami Railroad Company.

In 1840, when Governor Morrow was in his seventieth year, he was again sent to Congress, under the following interesting circumstances. That was the log cabin year, when the people of the State went wild over the brilliant speeches of America's greatest orator, Corwin, and the songs of John Griener. Mr. Corwin resigned his seat in Congress to accept the Whig nomination for Governor, and a mass convention was held at Wilmington to nominate a successor. It is said that ten thousand people were present on that occasion, and I believe it to be true. It would have been hard to find a section in Ohio so poor in people, or in spirit, at any time in 1840 or 1844 where ten thousand people could not be got together on two weeks' notice to hear a political discussion. At this Wilmington meeting, where Corwin gave an account of his stewardship, and drew philosophical lessons for the benefit of his auditors in his inimitable style, each county appointed fifty delegates to select a successor, and Governor Morrow was their unanimous choice to fill the unexpired term and the succeeding term. It was ratified by the mass convention with great enthusiasm. When Governor Morrow went to Washington to take his seat he

found in the House but one member who had served with him in the Eighth Congress when he first entered on a Congressional career in 1803—and this member, then a Representative, a Senator in 1803, and subsequently President, was perhaps the most eminent American citizen of the day—John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, who was then contending for the right of petition and the freedom of speech. But the change in manners was not less than in men. “My old associates,” said Governor Morrow in a tone of sadness to a friend, “are nearly all gone. I am acting with another generation. The courtesies which members formerly extended to each other are, in a great measure, laid aside, and I feel that I am in the way of younger men.”

This service closed the public career of Jeremiah Morrow—a career that extended over a period of forty years. During this whole time Mr. Morrow never sought an office, nor did he ever refuse one. His opinion, always modestly expressed, was that a citizen of a republic should be ready to discharge any duty to which he was called by the voices of his fellow-citizens.

I think it well here to repeat the words of General Durbin Ward on the retirement of Mr. Morrow. He said:

“I well remember when the venerable old man declined serving longer in Congress. With that gravity of intonation for which he was remarkable, he announced to his fellow-citizens that he wished to be excused from serving them longer; that he had lived through his age and generation and served it as best he could; that new men and new interests had grown up around him, and that it was now proper for him to leave those interests to the keeping of the present generation, who better understood, and who more warmly sympathized in the wants of the present age. He made the same response when solicited to take a seat in the second constitutional convention. He said he had assisted in forming one constitution; it was

now worn out, and he was worn out with it. The new one ought to be formed by those who would live under it."

These were words of wisdom uttered by one who had had bestowed upon him the highest honors without himself apparently being conscious of possessing any merit beyond that belonging to the humblest citizen in the community. In the discharge of a public duty he put forth all his powers, but place never exalted him; he was superior to it. Justice John McLean, a neighbor who knew him intimately in public and private life, said of him: "No man was firmer in matters of principle, and on these, as in matters of detail, he always maintained himself with great ability. His mind was sound and discriminating. No man in Congress who served with him had a sounder judgment. His opinions on great questions were of more value, and were more appreciated in high quarters, than the opinions of many others whose claims of statesmanship and oratory were much higher than his. Mr. Jefferson had much reliance in him, and Mr. Gallatin gave him, in every respect, the highest evidence of his confidence. There never sat in Congress a man more devoted to the public interests, and of a fairer or more elevated morality."

During the last years of his life Governor Morrow resided in a plain frame house at the foot of a steep hill and close to the bank of the Little Miami, one of several plain dwellings he had erected near his mills, which were turned by that stream. His wife preceded him to the grave by some years; his children were married and settled. In his old age he preserved the same simplicity of life and unpretending manners which had characterized his earlier life. He occupied a single but spacious room plainly furnished, which was the sitting room, parlor and library. His library was large and well selected, and here, occupied with his books and newspapers, in the full use of his mental faculties, he lived in the enjoyment of a

happy and comparatively healthful old age. He died on the 22d day of March, 1852, in the 81st year of his age.

This, all too briefly related, is the story of a useful life. There is not a trace of genius; nothing of evil to attribute to eccentricity. It is clear that Mr. Morrow was not "a child of destiny," but a plain man who feared God and loved his fellow-men. And here, friends of Ohio, I wish to proclaim in this age of unbelief, of the false and meretricious, the ancient and divine doctrine of CHARACTER as being the highest type of manhood. Wit may edify, genius may captivate, but it is *truth* that blesses and endures and becomes immortal. It is not what a man seems to be, but what he is that should determine his worth.

It is in the light of this doctrine, that I wish you to form an opinion of Jeremiah Morrow. A few additional words descriptive of his person and of traits of character will bring the man more plainly before you.

He was of medium stature, rather thin, very straight, strong and active, and capable of enduring much fatigue. His eyes and hair were dark, but in the last years of his life the latter was nearly perfectly white. In dress he was exceedingly careless, even while in public life. At home his usual attire was as plain and homely as that worn by his neighbor farmers, or his work-hands. At no period of his life did he consider manual labor beneath him, and few men with a sickle could reap more grain in a day than he. These homely ways occasionally led ambitious and officious politicians to the conclusion that he would be as potters' clay in their hands. His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Mac Dill, of the Associate Reformed, or United Presbyterian Church, of which Mr. Morrow was a life-long and consistent member, relates that "when his first gubernatorial term was nearly expired, some gentlemen about Columbus, who seemed to regard themselves as a board specially appointed to superintend the distribution of offices in the State of Ohio, had a meeting, and appointed a committee to wait on him and advise him as

to his duty. The committee called, and speedily made known their business. It was to prevail on him (for the public good, of course) not to stand as a candidate for a second term, but to give way in favor of another. They promised that if he would do this they would use their influence to return him to the United States Senate, where, they assured him, he would be more useful to the State. Having patiently heard them through, he calmly replied: 'I consider office as belonging to the people. A few of us have no right to make bargains on the subject, and I have no bargain to make. I have concluded to serve another term if the people see fit to elect me, though without caring much about it.'"

A friend relates this anecdote of the Governor: "On one occasion, an officer from one of the Eastern States came to Columbus as the agent in an important criminal case. The Governor was on his farm, and as the case admitted of no delay the agent went post-haste to find him. Arriving at the old mansion he asked for Governor Morrow. A lady directed him to the barn. Feeling that he was being humbugged the man went under protest, as directed. He found two men busy with a load of hay, one pitching to the mow, the other mowing away. He looked in vain for Governor Morrow, and a little out of humor, asked of the man on the wagon of his whereabouts. The individual addressed pitched his last fork full to the mow, and taking off his hat, wiping the perspiration from his brow, said: 'I am Governor Morrow, what can I do for you, sir?' The agent, now sure of the humbug, became indignant, said he wished to see Governor Morrow on business, and none of his servants. The farmer descended from the wagon, directed 'John' to drive the oxen out to the meadow; assured the man that he was the Governor; led the way to the house, and being one of the best talkers of the day, he soon convinced the indignant agent that the Governor of Ohio was the right man in the right place, and that he understood the dignity of the gubernatorial chair

as well as the mysteries of the hay-mow. Years afterwards I met this man in Boston, and he said that the strangest adventure in his career was his meeting with Governor Morrow in the barn."

One more illustration and I am done: When Charles Anderson was Governor, and I Secretary of State, we represented the State government at Urbana on the occasion of the removal of the remains of Simon Kenton to the new cemetery of that place, where a handsome monument had been erected to the famous pioneer. And here I interrupt my narrative to remark parenthetically, and not as pertinent to my subject, that while the dignified officers of the State and hundreds of worthy citizens followed the remains of the pioneers to their final resting place in solemn silence, the descendants of Kenton were enjoying themselves at a feast—a grim commentary, you will say, on family pride. But so far as the public were concerned, the ceremony had its sentimental, its patriotic side.

The occasion was calculated to inspire reminiscences and anecdotes of early Ohio days, and Governor Anderson proved to be in his happiest mood, the full meaning of which will be appreciated by those here present to-night who were ever so fortunate as to listen to the conversation of that brilliant man. He had a great deal to say about Governor Morrow, who, as Trustee of Miami University, often visited that institution and invariably, from choice, roomed with young Anderson. He therefore came to know him well, and within a few months, at my request, has put in writing his opinion of Mr. Morrow. He says:

"If I were compelled to choose and name the one ablest and best of all the Governors whom I knew it would be this Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren county. * * * * *

* * I believe I have known but one man who had so little of the spirit 'to show off'—of false pretense; of selfish vanity or ambition—as he had. And as for his merely intellectual powers and culture, without being, as far as I know, very profound or original, and surely being

neither brilliant nor eloquent, he had so many exact, yet various and extensive, knowledges, with such accuracy and aptness of memory and citation, that I am compelled to adjudge him a high place as well in scholarship as statesmanship."

The anecdote I am about to relate will give you the estimate of an intelligent foreigner of this Ohio pioneer. Governor Anderson said in the conversation, to which I have referred, that after he had graduated at Oxford he went abroad to spend a year in Europe. Some time in the month of October of the year 1845 he chanced to meet at Prague, in Bohemia, an English party of three gentlemen—a couple of barristers traveling for pleasure, and a Scotch commercial traveler. They together visited all the noted places throughout that country, and by these associations became welded into a sufficient homogeneity to be called "Our Party." At an early hour on a fine autumn day they turned their faces homeward, and followed the Moldaw toward, but not as far as the river Elbe, until they reached the little steamboat on which they were to embark, some distance above the junction of these classic streams. While they were lounging around the dock awaiting the arrival of the "captain," as we Americans always dub such officers, a sudden shower came up and drove the passengers into the close quarters of the cabin. Among these passengers so packed together was a curiously and elegantly dressed personage, in clean, bright scarlet coat, buff vest and shirt, fair top boots, a very jaunty little cap, with an elegant whip in his hand. Being fresh shaven, except his oiled side whiskers, clean as new cloth and fine linen could make him, he was, with his fresh pink complexion, his handsome regular features and comely stoutish figure, to a novice like young Anderson, one of the most curious and elegant figures he had ever seen off the stage. It was a pity he had not remained as a figure "to be seen, not heard," as parents in the good old days were wont to say to the boys. But alas! he spoke.

And such grammar, such metallic tones, interlarded with slang and vulgar profanity, as never before offended mortal ears in the presence of ladies. It is needless to say that all this outrage was in English. Indeed, declared Governor Anderson, no other language on earth, dead or living, ever had the capability of such slang and profanity as was then heard. Undoubtedly this "Professor" of the profane branch of the Queen's English did not dream that any of those present, except his own associates and the Anderson party, known by their dress, understood a word of his chaffing. But he was soon to be undeceived in a surprising manner; for after two or three repetitions, there arose from his seat between two ladies, of very plain but most genteel apparel and most quiet, refined appearance and demeanor, another figure as striking as his own, but in a very different fashion. He was a very giant in size and proportions. Very much above six feet in height, he was broad, straight, compact, sinewy—one of the noblest and most majestic human beings Anderson had ever beheld. And he spoke also, to the amazement of the little party, in the best tones and clearest sense in our own dear tongue. "Steward," he called calmly. No response. "*Steward,*" with a slight crescendo. Still no response. "**STEWARD,**" he shouted, so as to be heard throughout the boat. Whereupon the steward showed his face. "Where is the master of this vessel?" The steward replied that he had not yet arrived from Prague. Then our modern Ajax announced in effect that he would usurp that office for the present occasion. And thereupon pointing his finger to the ascending steps, he coolly ordered the burly Britisher in scarlet and buff tights to move up and out. The free-born Briton refused peremptorily. He said he had paid for his ticket, that he had equal rights, that it wasaining and he would not go for any man. To all which the new master said "Go," his stalwart finger still pointing the way. After a slight but impressive pause he added "I know you, sir. You are a low servant of my friend

the Earl of Chesterfield — the head groom of his racing stud, and you have forgotten that you are not in the presence of his horses and your other fellow-brutes. Now move, sirrah! or I will move you." And thereupon out moved the bold Briton into the rain.

In a short time the shower passed, and the little family-party of Anglo-Saxons went on deck for the freshened air and the sunlight. Of course, a squad of four of that race of bipeds could never be collected in which there would not, after such a scene, arise a split, a taking of sides; a discussion of the rights of the parties; much vague reference to *Magna Charta*, to the Bill of Rights, etc. And so in this case there was a division. The Scotchman, keen in debate and jealous of the English, began the schism by rejoicing over the discomfiture of the groom. The two English barristers were inclined, for argument's sake, to stand upon the free speech of *Magna Charta*, and as Anderson, who sympathized with the young ladies and admired the masterful stranger, sided with the Scotchman, their discussion became animated. As the words of strife closed, the Scotchman disappeared below to gather fresh items. In a little while, as it turned out, he informed our hero of the debates that they had settled down into unanimity on his side, but that his American friend, with whom he had traveled the Danube, had been very warm in his advocacy of his procedure and admiration of his bearing. The big stranger then said he would like to be made acquainted with an American; that this was his country almost; that he had never seen an American so far east in Europe, and that having spent many happy days in the United States, he would be really glad to chat with this American friend of Campbell's. And thereupon up came the twain, like Douglas and his page, and so young Anderson had the honor of a presentation to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar — a soldier of Waterloo, a relative of the royal family of England, and, among other distinctions, the author of two of the

most highly esteemed, as well as expensive, volumes of Americana.

During the trip down the beautiful river to Dresden the Grand Duke paid marked attention to the young American, and in conversation showed the most accurate familiarity with our history and institutions, and acquaintance with prominent citizens in every section of the country. For instance, in relating his experience in Ohio, he spoke of Governor Morrow, Judge Burnet, General Lyttle, General Findlay, Peyton Symmes, Robert Buchanan, A. W. Gazlay, Nicholas Longworth, and others, rightly estimating the ability and characteristics of each. "Next to your great statesman, Henry Clay," said he, "I took the greatest liking to the Governor of your State—Governor Morrow—whose acquaintance I made in the most thoroughly American manner." And thereupon he related how, taking a carriage at Cincinnati, he traveled to Columbus to pay his respects to the Governor, but, on the advice of a Cincinnati friend, he called *en route* at the farm of Governor Morrow. When he reached the farm he saw a small party of men in a new field, rolling logs. This scene of a deadening, or clearing, is familiar to those of us fortunate enough to have been brought up in Ohio, but to a European raised in courts, it must have been an amazing sight. After twenty years, he gave a quick and picturesque, almost poetic description of this remarkable scene on the Little Miami; but I must hasten to the end. Accosting one of the workmen, a homely little man in a red flannel shirt, and with a smutch of charcoal across his cheek, he asked, as he did on the Elbe boat, "Where is your master, sir?" "Master!" exclaimed the other, "I own no master—no master but Him above." The Duke then said, rather testily, "It is the Governor of the State, Governor Morrow, I am inquiring for." "Well, I am Jeremiah Morrow," replied the son of toil, with unaffected and unconscious simplicity. The Grand Duke stood amazed.

This little man, in a red flannel shirt and home-made tow linen trousers, leaning on a dogwood hand-spike, with a coal smutched face and the jeweled sweat drops of real labor now on his brow, and a marked Scotch-Irish brogue when he spoke! He the Governor of Ohio? Was it possible? He could scarcely credit his senses. The history of Sparta and Rome, were as household words to him. Cincinnatus the model of rural, if not rustic, statesmen and heroes, had so filled the world with his fame, that he had indirectly given his name to the neighboring town on the bank of the Ohio. But here was a real, living farmer, rustic laborer, and a statesman too; not a figure-head of a Plutarch, nor the dream of a poet fancy, but a present reality, a man with simple, natural manners and downright honesty of character, who was quite the equal of any classic Cincinnatus or Cato of them all. He had seen, as he had expected in this new and wild country, many institutions in the process of development, all along the line, from germ to grain; but a real head of a commonwealth, in such a show of man—or any likeness to it—was a spectacle he had not seen nor expected to see.

After he had somewhat recovered from his surprise, he accepted a graceful invitation to go to the house, where he of the red flannel shirt excused himself, and soon reappeared fittingly apparelled for the governor of a republic. The Grand Duke was his guest in Warren county, and also at Columbus, for some days, and it was during this time that a plain head of a plain people made such a profound impression.

It has come to be the fashion with biographical writers to dwell upon the unfavorable conditions attending the growth and education of successful men, who in early youth had to labor and save, or share with kin the hard-earned dollars. If a boy voluntarily or of necessity went barefooted, or, if in manhood, he took a contract to split rails, it is accepted as evidence that his relations were not only poor but ignorant and unfamiliar with the decencies

of life, not to say deficient in those delicate sensibilities inseparable from noble characters. To heighten the contrast, humble friends and associates are made to appear coarse and repulsive—unjustly, we may be sure. Great souls are not born of evil. Strong characters surmount difficulties before which weaker ones succumb and the effort is a valuable aid to intellectual growth. But there are external influences that help to mold the man. In the case of Jeremiah Morrow there was an element in his education which must not be overlooked, for which he was indebted to Christian parents. He was by them instructed by precept and example in the great principles which guide and control a moral and religious life. Similar conditions influenced the education of the leading pioneers, who wrought a mighty work in the Ohio Valley, and of their successors who have departed, lamented by the whole American people—Hammond, and Harrison, and McLean, and Corwin, and Brough, and Ewing, and Wade, and Chase, and Garfield. These like those came of poor but of the best American families, dating back to the time when there was no marked distinction except that of human worth; and they died as they lived, comparatively poor. The history of the lives of these devoted and patriotic men, of the work wrought by the pioneers, and of the manly and unpretentious career of Jeremiah Morrow, to which I have called your attention to-night, is a precious heritage to the people of Ohio.

And here, Mr. President, I ought to close my remarks, as I have already detained you too long. But we are in the midst of great social dangers, and I am constrained to dwell a little longer on the central thought of my theme. New conditions confront each generation, and changes have to be made to meet them. But there are principles that are immutable, and a people's history is glorious or infamous as these are made conspicuous or are trampled upon in private and official life. We have been accused

by foreigners of making a fetich of the Constitution. If we were to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, we would be strong enough to confront any danger from without or within. But the real American fetich is the pride of money, which is rapidly destroying the republican simplicity and honesty in which our strength as a people heretofore lay. Rufus King, in a private letter in 1803, predicted that if we had another war, there would be afforded another opportunity of gaining riches, the consequences whereof might be an aristocracy of the most odious character. But the picture he drew falls far short of the reality. It is not likely that Mr. King, or other Americans in that day, dreamed that men would count their hundred millions, largely acquired by wrecking corporations and other questionable methods; or through the power of combination destroy individual enterprise—the keystone of the American business arch; or that, through the selfish greed of a few, and indifference to the just claims and welfare of the many, we should be brought, at the close of the first century of the Constitution, face to face with anarchy and revenge. And yet is not this the condition of affairs in our country to-day?

Let us not despair of the Republic, but, acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days as dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few, and of transforming into conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition; her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. As the example of a simple, dignified, and useful life, after the enjoyment of the highest honors, was to be found in the early days of the Republic at Mount Vernon, Monticello and Montpelier, so is it to be found to-day at Fremont. The value of this

influence cannot be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the living lesson which is worthy the glorious past ; or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the State and of the Nation, the words of the poet :

“ Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends.”

THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY.

1788-1888.

WRITTEN FOR THE MARIETTA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

By R. K. SHAW.

We meet this splendid April morn
Where EQUAL LIBERTY was born.
We meet to celebrate the birth
Of her whose hand redeems the earth.
This day in joy and pride we meet
To worship at triumphal feet.
Her age this day—a hundred years,
As measured by the rolling spheres,
As measured by her works sublime
She grandly runs abreast of time.

Here FREEDOM built her perfect arch
Through which her faithful legions march;
Here wisely formed her model State,
Here reared her inner temple-gate,
And on its stainless pillars white
Her deft and matchless fingers write
“The human race are EQUAL—FREE;
“Mankind are born to liberty.”
O, matchless boon of human years,
We celebrate thy pioneers.

We meet within that temple-gate
Where human slavery met its fate.
Here conscience trembles not in fear,
And woman walks the earth a peer.
Each plants his fig tree and his vine,
And says, “A part of earth is mine;
“I own the land that’s great—and free;
“I worship God in liberty.”

To lands untrodden by the slave
Earth’s heroes came, the strong, the brave,
Who freedom’s race had nobly run
When marching with a Washington.
They bought these hills at costly price—
They tendered life a sacrifice;
Their manhood’s strength, their manhood’s years
They spent in war, in blood and tears;
They grandly grew to freedom’s height

In freedom's struggle for the right,
Their works stand out in bold relief,
All others lean upon their sheaf.

The Mayflower on Atlantic's sea
Brought base alloy with liberty;
The Mayflower on Ohio's breast
Brought FREEDOM PURE unto the West.
Glorious day—glorious birth—
While human hands shall till the earth.

The freedom flag that they unfurled
Shall float in triumph o'er the world.
Our freedom made New England free,
Led Middle States to liberty.
More glorious than all the rest,
Made sunny South free as the West.
That banner crosses o'er the waves,
And lo! it breaks the chains of slaves;
'Tis planted on the old world's turf,
And Russia frees her Cossac serf;
It floats above the soil of Spain
And rends her bondsmen's links in twain.

And marching on in triumph still
It carries freedom to Brazil.
For human slavery can not be
Where floats that flag of liberty.
It bears aloft upon its folds
The thought that earth's redemption holds,
"The human race are EQUAL—FREE;
"Mankind are born to LIBERTY."

The little spring that sparkled here
In billows washes o'er the sphere.
All men shall celebrate the day
When FREEDOM here her altar lay,
As we to-day here celebrate
Her pioneers—her model State.

Wise men, they left the cultured East,
Fought savage men and savage beast
Within the western wilderness,
And made it bloom with loveliness.
Grand was the thought their purpose led.
Magnificent its growth and spread;
For human records give no age
That bears a brighter, purer page.

To all the people gave the helm
And launched their state "The Freedom Realm."
Its keel and ribs are grand—are great—
"All the people are the State,
And of and by them, government,
And for them, all its blessings sent."
And say what shall its limits be,
And what Our Freedom's boundary?
The narrow breadth of fifty States
Already in, or at the gates?
Nay more, far more than all of these,
Our country's limits shall be seas;
Columbia, on every side
Thou shalt be washed by ocean's tide.
Nor then is Freedom's measure full,
In other lands shall PEOPLE rule;
And when all men in every land,
On human rights, in freedom stand,
Shall FREEDOM in her grandest years
Plant laurels o'er her pioneers.

JOHN GRAY, WASHINGTON'S LAST SOLDIER.

BORN NEAR MT. VERNON, VA., JANUARY 6TH, 1764; DIED
NEAR HIRAMSBURG, O., MARCH 29TH, 1868.

BY PRIVATE DALZELL.

[Read at the Marietta Centennial Celebration.]

One by one the severed links have started
Bonds that bound us to the sacred past;
One by one, our patriot sires departed,
Time hath brought us to behold the last;
Last of all who won our early glory,
Lonely traveler of the weary way,
Poor, unknown, unnamed in song or story,
In his western cabin lives John Gray.

Deign to stoop to rural shades, sweet Clio!
Sing the hero of the sword and plow;
On the borders of his own Ohio,
Weave a laurel for the veteran's brow;
While attuned unto the murmuring waters
Flows the burden of our pastoral lay,
Bid the fairest of Columbia's daughters,
O'er his locks of silver crown John Gray.

Slaves of self and serfs of vain ambition—
Toilful strivers of the city's mart,
Turn a while, and bless the sweet transition
Unto scenes that soothe the careworn heart;
Turn with me to yonder moss-thatched dwelling,
Wreathed in woodbine and wild-rose spray,
While the muse his simple tale is telling,
Tottering on his crutches, see John Gray.

When Defeat had pressed his bitter chalice
To the lips of England's haughty lord,—
Bowed in shame the brow of stern Cornwallis,
And at Yorktown claimed his bloody sword;
At the crowning of the siege laborious—
At the triumph of their glorious day,
Near his chieftain, in the ranks victorious,
Stood the youthful soldier, brave John Gray.

While he vowed through peace their love should burn on—
While he bade his tearful troops farewell,

One alone unto thy shades, Mount Vernon,
 Called the Chieftain with himself to dwell,
 Proud to serve the Father of the Nation,
 Glad to hear the voice that bade him stay
 Year by year upon the broad plantation,
 Unto ripened manhood toiled John Gray.

Sowed and reaped and gathered to the garner
 All the Summer plenty's golden sheaves,—
 Sowed and reaped, till Time, the ruthless warner,
 Whispered through the dreary Autumn leaves:
 "Wherefore tarry? Freedom's skies are o'er thee;
 Winter frowneth ere the blush of May:
 Lo! Is not a goodly land before thee?
 Up and choose thee now a home, John Gray."

Thus he heard the words of duty's warning,
 And he saw the rising Empire-star
 Dawning dimly on the Nation's morning—
 Guiding westward Emigration's car.
 Heard and saw and quickly rose to follow.
 He bore his rifle for the savage prey,
 Bore his axe, that soon in greenwood hollow
 Timed thy sylvan ballads, bold John Gray.

Blessed with love, his lonely labors cheering,
 Blithe the hearthstone of that forest nook,
 Where arose his cabin in the "clearing,"
 Near the meadow with its purling brook;
 Where his children from their noonday laughter
 Turned at eve and left their joyous play,
 Hushed and still, when the great hereafter
 Spake the Christian father, meek John Gray.

Oh, the years of mingled joy and sadness!
 Oh, the hours—the countless hours of toil,
 Shared alike through sorrow and through gladness
 By loved hands now mouldering in the soil;
 Oh, the anguish stifled in the shadow
 Of the gloom that bore her form away!
 'Neath yon mound she slumbers in the meadow,
 Waiting, meekly waiting thee, John Gray.

All day long upon the threshold sitting,
 Where the sunbeams through the bright leaves shine—
 Where the zephyrs, through his white locks flitting,
 Softly whispers of "the auld lang syne."
 How he loves on holy thoughts to ponder;

How his eyes the azure heaven survey,
Or toward yon meadow dimly wander;—
Yes, beside her thou shalt sleep, John Gray.

In the tomb thy comrades' bodies slumber,—
Unto heaven their souls have flown before;
Only one is "missing" of their number,—
Only one to win the radiant shore;—
Only one to join the sacred chorus,—
Only one to burst the bonds of clay;
Soon the sentry's trumpet sounding o'er us,
To their ranks shall summon thee, John Gray.

Peace be with thee—gentle spirit guard thee,
Noble type of heroes now no more!
In thine age may gratitude reward thee,
In thy need may bounty bless thy store;
Care of woman—gentle, true and tender,
Strength of manhood be thy guide and stay;
Let not those who roll in idle splendor,
To their shame forget thee, lone John Gray.

Five-score winters on thy head have whitened—
Five-score summers o'er thy brow have passed;
All the sunshine that the pathway brightened,
Clouds of want and care o'ercast.
Thus the last of those who won our glory,
Lonely traveler of the weary way,
Poor, unknown, unnamed in song or story,
In his western cabin, died John Gray.

THE MEMORIAL STRUCTURE AT MARIETTA.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MADE APRIL 6, 1888.

THE erection of a monumental structure at Marietta, to commemorate the important historical events that became a fulfillment of the past, as well as the foundation of the future, when on the 7th day of April, 1788, the pioneer band settled down upon the virgin soil of the Northwest Territory, has been a favorite object in the proceedings of this Society.

At the first meeting held in the City of Columbus, March 12, 1885, it was resolved, "that this Society cordially approves of the erection at Marietta of a suitable monumental structure to commemorate the services of the patriotic men who obtained a valid title to the Northwestern Territory, and established therein the principles of civil and religious liberty, as expressed in the Ordinance of July 13th, 1787."

At the annual meeting held February 19th, 1886, this Society memorialized the Ohio Legislature in the following words: "In order that the virtues and services of a most worthy ancestry may be presented to posterity in an impressive form, that will be best calculated to inspire a patriotic devotion to institutions and inheritances established for their benefit, we ask that a monumental structure, worthy alike of this great nation and the noble men who laid these foundations, be erected at the City of Marietta in time to be completed by the 7th of April, 1888."

At its annual meeting held February 24th, 1887, this Society renewed its former expressions of approval of the monument, and resolved that a cordial invitation be extended to the "Old Thirteen and the Western States" to "take such interest in the monumental structure as may be most convenient and agreeable to each of them respect-

ively;" also that "circulars be issued to the State Historical Societies, requesting them to furnish such legends and historical inscriptions as may be properly placed upon the proposed monumental structure."

A corporation has been formed under the laws of the State of Ohio for the purpose of erecting this monument. This corporation has adopted a code of regulations, by which any person subscribing \$100, and paying it in for the purposes of the Association, may become a member.

Two donations of \$500 each have been offered contingent upon raising a fund of \$10,000, another donation of \$500 has been paid into the Treasury, and some progress has been made in the way of memberships.

While this Society has not assumed the pecuniary responsibility of erecting this monumental structure, the aid it has already imparted to the enterprise is such that further support may well be extended. It is certainly an object directly in the line of its purposes and highest aspirations.

The object of the monument is to preserve and perpetuate *history*. The *libraries* of Egypt have crumbled into *ashes* or *dust*. Her *monuments stand*, and will stand, as long as enquiring eyes seek to unravel their mysteries. They stand as sign boards to guide posterity to the *past*; the lessons of ages are inscribed upon them.

No better conservatism can be offered to your posterity, no brighter lights to guide their feet, no purer models to stimulate their conduct, than the deeds, the services, the virtues of your own ancestry.

The pageants, displays, and expositions of to-day will pass away. They may stimulate that pride which "goeth before a fall." Like the mighty monarch of old, we may look around over our surpluses of wealth and prosperity with the fatal boast, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?"

The grand historical ideas and events which cluster around this Centennial occasion, which found practical

expression and application on this spot one hundred years ago, were not wrought by dwellers in palaces, by vain boasters, or idle schemers. "There were giants in those days."

The "Old Continental Congress" and the "Old Continental Army" were competent to turn aside the tide of ages and mark out new channels for the energies of the entire human race. They met their giant foe as the strippling Israelite met his Goliath. That Congress of May 26, 1779, have placed it upon record that "America, without arms, without ammunition, discipline, revenue, government, or ally, almost totally stripped of commerce, and in the weakness of youth, as it were, with 'a sling and staff only,' dared, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, to engage a gigantic adversary prepared at all points, boasting of his strength, and of whom mighty warriors were greatly afraid." (*See Jour. of Congress.*)

That old Continental army undertook their first campaign with only nine rounds of powder to the man, and with two brass cannon, presented by Massachusetts, as one-half of their arms in that branch of the service. Has history in any age recorded grander results than were wrought out with such slender supplies? The bricks they moulded *without straw* are the foundations of our homesteads.

We are not in concourse here to-day to celebrate an accident, a mere haphazard adventure. The first permanent occupation of this vast interior was affected upon wise plans, carefully considered, and deliberately matured. The great organic law of 1787 embodies the wisdom, skill, and best judgment of men who were building their own homes, as well as of those who were invested with the responsibilities of legislation.

The Ohio Company of Associates, in their outlook for the future, turned away from homes made desolate by the war, and wrought in a line of policy that Congress had marked out for the Northwest Territory. They bought

Guernsey 22 Sept 1857

Robt Lifford

Nath^l Lushington Silas Bent

Samuel Denny Dean Tyler

Joseph Lincoln W^m Woodhouse

J^m Byers Putnam Hafford White

Gilbert Devol J^r Paul Searing.

Witness -

Griffin Greene Matthew Barkus.

Boyes Putnam

Oliver Rice

Henry Bartlett

Yruman Guthrie Collector

land, and made payments in that which represented their personal toils, privations and blood. They sought civil government, without which land was of no value to them.

They understood the principles upon which republican institutions can only be maintained. They fairly represented the army—as the originators all held commissions in that service—but they were competent judges of *civil rights*.

They had fought for personal rights, as well as governmental control for their country, through the Revolutionary struggle. With them personal rights placed every man who bore the Divine image on an equality before the law. With them social order could only be maintained by religion, morality, and knowledge.

From the inception of their plans “distinct government,” “a new State westward of the Ohio,” was at all times kept in view. They *intended* to have a government, and that accounts for the enactment of an organic law before they converted their military services into lands. They ventured into this wide wilderness to plant principles as well as cereals. They came in the face of dangers as great as any they had ever encountered. But they came to stay.

Thirty thousand dollars of their own money was expended in defenses that ought to have been borne by their government. They built and held their forts against the combined force of twenty-one tribes of savages, supported and encouraged by the emissaries of Great Britain.

Here is an old soiled manuscript in the handwriting of their leader, General Rufus Putnam—being a statement of account with the United States of America—showing a balance against the government, which, if it were paid to-day with the usual interest, would erect the most costly monument that now stands on American soil.¹ This is not the only claim against the United States, growing out of the services and sacrifices of the men who opened to civil-

¹See Note A at the end of this report.

ization its first gateway to the great valley on April 7th, 1788.

That old veteran Commodore who first defied the power of Britain on the ocean wave—whose bones rest in yonder cemetery—advanced large sums to aid American citizens in foreign ports and in Charleston after its capture. To these advances were added six years service; all repaid in final certificates, worth only twenty cents on the dollar.

In old age he was turned off with a scanty pittance called a *pension*, to save him from a pauper's grave.¹

The Ohio Company invested a large sum of their funds in Georgia Loan Office Certificates that have never been honored by the government, because their own agent failed to comply with some of the technicalities of the law.²

If these amounts, with annual interest, could be placed to the credit of rightful owners the large surplus now puzzling our statesmen would be greatly diminished.

But they are not presented with a view to make a case of pecuniary liability. Doubtless they are outlawed by the statutes of limitations. Will this generation outlaw the self-sacrificing services which these historical items fairly represent? Is ingratitude the *law* of Republics?

Your Committee deem it eminently proper not only that these historical items should be preserved, but that the Society should continue to extend to the erection of a monumental structure all the encouragement and aid that falls within its constitutional power, and therefore offer the following resolutions for adoption.

W. P. CUTLER,
A. W. JONES,
Committee.

RESOLUTIONS AS ADOPTED.

Resolved, That this Society fully recognizes the value and importance of the historic incidents that preceded and

¹ See Note B at the end of this report.

² See Note C at the end of this report.

led to the first organized and permanent settlement of the Northwest Territory, begun at Marietta, April 7, 1788.

Resolved, That the eminent and patriotic services of the Congress composed of representatives from the original thirteen States in maintaining the struggle against their powerful enemy; in establishing the independence of their country; in securing quiet possession of the Mississippi valley, and in giving to it the ordinances for disposing of lands and governing its inhabitants, demand from this generation a recognition that will hand their names and services down to future generations in an instructive and monumental form.

Resolved, That a like recognition is due to the Continental Army, by whose valor and endurance these results were achieved.

Resolved, That this Society will continue to encourage the erection of a monumental structure at Marietta, and to this end will co-operate with the Marietta Centennial Monument Association in their efforts to procure pecuniary aid.

NOTE A.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

WHEN the Ohio Company purchased lands of the government, and paid for it in the coin of highest standard—the service of pure patriotism—they had a right to expect that protection would be afforded to them in their peaceful missions of civilization. They were careful to pursue a “peace policy” with the Indians. They were not the dreaded “Long Knives” that had waged savage warfare with savages. But their overtures of peace were in vain. The stern conflict with barbarism was irrepressible. Har-mar’s expedition in 1790 inflamed but did not subdue. The fearful massacre at Big Bottom, on the Muskingum, on the 2d day of January, 1791, was a warning to depart, or defend their infant settlements. The Directors virtually

proclaimed martial law, called all settlers into the forts, and armed for defence. The superintendent, General Putnam, states the situation in the following extracts of a letter, dated January 6th, 1791, addressed to Caleb Strong and Fisher Ames, members of Congress at that time. He says:

"From the prudence of our people, and the friendship with which we treated the natives, we remained in a state of quiet, without any apprehensions from the Delawares, or other tribes, till the expedition against the Shawnees, (General Harmar's), and had probably done so to this time had that expedition never been undertaken. If, therefore, we had no claim to the protection of government before, I trust we have now. For a parent to invite his children to gather plums under a hornet's nest, and then to beat the nest without giving them notice to get out of the way, or covering them while he provokes the hornets, has something so cruel in its nature that the mind revolts at the idea. Yet, sir, such is our situation at present—nay, the comparison is not strong enough, for our government have not only beat the nest but, in order to do it, have removed the troops that before, in some measure, covered us from those few Indians disposed for mischief, and have left us without protection.

"We are situated 200 miles from any settled country sufficiently populous to afford any relief in case of emergency, or any means of obtaining help short of the general government, (as the Governor and Secretary are both out of the State).

"I ask, are not allegiance and protection reciprocal?

"Have we not given the most unequivocal proof of our allegiance and love of our country with constitutional government, through the Revolution, and ever since? Why, then, in the name of God, will you not protect us? Has government no other view than to sell us their lands and leave the people to protect themselves? If so, it ought

to have been made known at the time of sale. Otherwise there is a cheat, for the purchasers never understood the matter in this light." * * * "If government do not mean to protect this country, I most sincerely wish they would tell us so. It will be much more kind in them to tell us plainly that they will not protect the country they have sold, than to keep us in suspense."

General Putnam made strong representations to the President of the United States, Washington, on this subject. In a letter dated December 20, 1790, he says: "But I trust, sir, that in the multiplicity of public concerns which claim your attention, our little colony will not be forgot.

"Whatever may be the opinion of some, I know that you consider the settlement of this country of utility to the United States, and I believe you will not think me vain or presumptuous, when I say that the inhabitants that compose this settlement have as great a claim to protection as any under the Federal government. A great proportion of us served our country through the war. Our securities are received at par, with which we purchase our lands, and in all other respects we have given unequivocal proofs of our attachment to constitutional government."

In another letter to his old friend and Commander-in-Chief he says: "But however surprising to you, and painful to me, to relate, the people think that we have very little to hope from Governor St. Clair. They believe that both the Governor and Mr. Sargent have, for some reason or other, conceived a prejudice against them." He then relates the disposition that the Governor made of troops, and the disbanding of the militia called out under Colonel Sproat, showing quite plainly that all efficient protection had been withdrawn from the Ohio Company's settlement.

It was under these trying conditions that the Ohio Company undertook the task of protecting the citizens of the

United States. The following is the statement of expense incurred by the company for that purpose:

ABSTRACT OF MILITIA IN THE PAY OF THE OHIO COMPANY DURING
THE INDIAN WAR.

1790	At Marietta for 1 month, wages and part of rations	\$ 135 03	
	Bellprie for one month.....	92 00	
	Waterford for 1 month wages and rations..	70 00	
			\$ 297 03
1791	Marietta for Jan., Feb. and March.....	\$ 696 00	
	Marietta for April, May and June.....	839 03	
	Bellprie, Jan., Feb. and March.....	613 37	
	Bellprie, April and May.....	683 00	
	Waterford, Jan., Feb. and March.....	395 03	
	Waterford, April, May and June.....	498 00	
			3,724 43
	Paid to Spyes, their wages and rations....	\$ 878 71	
	Paid to extra Scouts and Guards.....	183 08	
	Paid to Surgeons, their wages and rations..	229 71	
	Paid for medicine and nursing sick.....	30 21	
			1,321 71
	To the amount of rations issued by Commissaries	\$ 1,729 52	
	To the amount of provisions furnished by Company	813 37	
	To amount of whiskey purchased.....	387 21	
	To amount of ammunition purchased.....	506 68	
			3,436 78

EXPENSE OF FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED.

	To the amount of labour on the several works	\$ 3,888 13	
	To lumber employed, viz.: boards, brick, timber, &c	382 39	
	To Black Smith work, Iron, &c.....	101 64	
	To Sundries, viz.: nails, tin, paper, trenching tools, &c	296 68	
			4,668 84
			\$ 13,499 59

TO CHARGES MADE BY THE DIRECTORS.

1791	Viz.: To Rufus Putnam.....	\$ 113 00	
	To Robert Olliver at Marietta....	\$ 351 00	
	To Robert Olliver, extra services and expense	173 33	
	To Robert Olliver at Marietta....	90 33	614 33
1791	To Griffin Greene, at Bellprie and Marietta	373 50	
1792	To Griffin Greene, at Bellprie and Marietta	118 50	492 00
			\$ 1,219 33
			\$ 14,668 92
	To goods purchased and applied for the redemption of prisoners.....		40 00
			\$ 14,708 92

Journal Page.	CONTRA CREDIT.		
230	By the United States towards the payment and rations of militia refunded.....	\$ 2,549 42	
250	By the amount of 970 rations, discounted by Elliot & Williams, per Governor's order..	64 66	
	By the amount of provisions, whisky, ammunition, &c., &c., charged to individuals	743 94	3,358 02
	Balance of clear expense.....		\$ 11,350 90
Journal 212.	N. B.—Col. Sproat's return of militia, July 5th, 1790, is 246, including officers.		

Dr. Hildreth is authority for saying that the above "clear balance" "was never paid by the United States, although justly due them."

NOTE B.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

THE amount of hard money furnished by Commodore Whipple to meet obligations justly belonging to the United States was \$16,000. He was forced to accept certificates of indebtedness on a bankrupt Treasury at par in place of the gold and silver he paid out. These certificates netted him twenty per cent. of their face, so that his loss was \$12,800. General Putnam urges his claim upon the gratitude of his country in the following, addressed to Timothy Pickering:

"MARIETTA, February 2, 1808.

"*Dear Sir:*—Permit me to recommend to your attention the circumstances of Commodore Abraham Whipple, late of Rhode Island, now a neighbor of mine. I presume you will recollect his character as a naval officer in the Revolutionary war. He is now in his seventy-fifth year, with an amiable wife of nearly the same age, who have no means of subsistence but their daily labor in cultivating an eight acre lot. From various circumstances which attended him while in service, he divers times, and especially when captured in Charleston in the year 1780 (with General Lincoln), found himself under the necessity of making large advances from his own property to relieve

the necessities of the ship's crew under his command; for which he was paid only the nominal sum in the depreciated bills of final settlement certificates, which went but little way in discharging the debts he had contracted, or reimbursement of the property he had expended in the service of his country, hence after the close of the war, on the settlement of his accounts, he found himself reduced to a state bordering indigence, and in 1789 removed to Marietta, since which he has been compelled generally to labor in the field for a subsistence, and has now no other means than his own labors to obtain his bread.

"By the mail which carries this letter the Commodore sends a petition to Congress to be presented by Mr. [name illegible], a member from Rhode Island, and acquainted with the Commodore's circumstances previous to his removing to this place.

"I hope Congress will grant some relief to a man in his last moments, who, it is well known, rendered very essential service to his country. Yours, &c.,

RUFUS PUTNAM."

"Colonel Pickering."

NOTE C.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

THE case of the Georgia Loan Office Certificate may be briefly stated as follows:

Forty-three Certificates of \$400 each were issued by the Government under an act of February 23d, 1777, through the loan office of the State of Georgia, and became the property of the Ohio Company. The Certificates were dated December 23d, 1777, payable to Thomas Stone, or bearer, on the 1st of December, 1781; signed by Samuel Hillegas, Continental Treasurer, and bearing interest at six per cent., payable annually. On the back of each is endorsed payment of four years interest up to December 23d, 1781. Suit was brought in the United States Circuit

Court, by John A. Rockwell, of Connecticut, attorney, and judgment obtained for \$60,876.99.

The judgment upon being reported back to Congress was, however, reversed and an appeal taken to the Supreme Court.

A judgment was rendered by this Court adverse to the claimants from which Justice Fields dissented, saying that he was of the opinion that the demand of the plaintiff was a just obligation against the United States, as binding as any part of the public debt of the country.

COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO THE CELEBRATION.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS OF CONGRATULATION.

MARIETTA, April 6, 1888.

Dr. I. W. Andrews, Hartford, Conn.:

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, in session at its annual meeting, sends greeting, and congratulates you on the great success of the Marietta Centennial, so largely the result of your labors. Nothing but your presence is wanting to complete it. Our best wishes for your speedy recovery.

F. C. SESSIONS, *President.*

HARTFORD, CONN., April 7, 1888.

F. C. Sessions, President:

Thanks for your kind greeting. Am gaining slowly. With you in spirit on this memorable day. Congratulations to the eminent visitors and all at home on your successful celebration.

I. W. ANDREWS.

PONCE DE LEON, }

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., April 6, 1888. }

President I. W. Andrews:

The oldest city in the United States sends hearty greeting to the oldest city in the Northwest Territory.

GEO. S. GREEN, *Mayor.*

MARIETTA, O., April 9, 1888.

Hon. Geo. S. Green, Mayor, St. Augustine, Fla.:

Your telegram, addressed to Dr. Andrews, was received, and afforded the highest gratification to the large audience. In the absence of Dr. Andrews, the committee in charge direct me to respond, with the cordial greeting, that while Ohio may have a colder climate, she vies with Florida in warmth of fraternal affection.

W. P. CUTLER,

For the Committee.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1888.

Dr. I. W. Andrews, Chairman:

The Ohio Society of New York now assembled, two hundred and fifty strong, sends greeting to the Pioneer Association at Marietta, celebrating the ever memorable Centennial.

CINCINNATI, O., April 7, 1888.

President I. W. Andrews:

Congratulations and good wishes of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

M. F. FORCE,
President.

CINCINNATI, O., March 29, 1888.

The Cincinnati Pioneer Association sends greeting to Pioneer Association at Marietta, O., settled April 7, 1788, by General Putnam's party. Its members and friends, old and young, will meet at Unitarian Church, Eighth and Plum streets, at 2 o'clock p. m., Saturday, April 7, and by speeches and music celebrate the anniversary.

JOHN D. CALDWELL,
Secretary.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1888.

Prof I. W. Andrews, Marietta, Ohio:

Accept my congratulations and best wishes for a successful celebration. I regret that recent illness prevents my presence.

JAMES M. VARNUM.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

On the 24th of February, 1887, a resolution was adopted by the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society instructing the Secretary to invite each of the State Historical Societies of the old thirteen States and of those formed out of the Northwest Territory, to co-operate in the cele-

bration of April 7th, 1888. In accordance with this resolution the invitations were extended, and among others the following responses were received:

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., March 23, 1888.

DEAR SIR:—Your communication addressed to me as President of the Maine Historical Society, with the accompanying circular extending an invitation to Historical Societies to send delegates to the annual meeting of the Ohio State Historical and Archæological Society and the celebration of Ohio's birthday Centennial, at Marietta, on the 7th of April, reached my residence in Maine after I had left home for the South; and they have been forwarded to me, so that I now have the honor of acknowledging their receipt and of thanking you for your kindness.

I regret that I shall not be able to be present on that occasion, for it will be one that will exhibit a gratifying contrast hardly paralleled in history—a single century transforming the hunting ground of a few scattered savages into the comfortable and elegant homes of a great Christian community of many hundreds of thousands of educated, intelligent and prosperous citizens, enjoying the blessings of a government, the best to be found upon the earth.

Most respectfully yours,

I. W. ANDREWS, ESQ.,
Chairman.

JAMES W. BRADBURY,
Pres. Maine Hist. Society.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
CONCORD, N. H., March 28, 1888. }

I. W. Andrews, Chairman:

MY DEAR SIR—We held a meeting of our Executive Committee yesterday, and they authorized me to appoint delegates on behalf of this Society to attend your Historical Society on the 6th and 7th of April next.

I have appointed yourself and Mr. Perry, of Exeter, as such delegates, and send a commission to you for you both. I doubt if Mr. Perry can attend, but I will notify

him of his appointment at once and request him to do so.

Yours truly, J. E. SARGENT,
Pres't. N. H. Hist. Soc.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
NEWARK, N. J., March 21, 1888. }

To the Hon. W. P. Cutler, Chairman:

DEAR SIR—Your circular in reference to the "Centennial of Ohio's Birthday" has been received, for which, and the invitation to be present on the interesting occasion, please accept our hearty thanks.

To the State of Ohio, the mother of Presidents and distinguished statesmen, on the hundreth anniversary of the first settlement at Marietta, the New Jersey Historical Society sends "Greeting."

We beg leave to advise you that Israel W. Andrews, D.D., LL.D., an honorary member, is hereby authorized to represent the New Jersey Historical Society at the Centennial celebration of Ohio's birthday, April 7th, 1888.

SAMUEL M. HAMILL,
Pres. N. J. Hist. Society.
STEPHEN WICKES,
Cor. Sec'y. N. J. Hist. Society.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
170 SECOND AVENUE, }
NEW YORK, March 7, 1888. }

I. W. Andrews, Chairman Centennial Committee, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIR—Yours of 28th Feb., inviting, on behalf of the Committee of the Ohio Historical Society, this Society to send delegates to the Centennial celebration to be held at Marietta on the 7th of April next, was laid before this Society last evening, at the first stated meeting held since its reception.

The invitation was accepted with thanks, and in conformity with your expressed wish that a descendant of Hon. John Keane should be chosen, Mr. Nicholas Fish,

the eldest son of the Hon. Hamilton Fish, our first Vice President, was appointed the delegate.

In a few days he will receive his credentials. I notify you of the fact and request that if you have any preference for any particular form of credentials that you will kindly inform me at once.

I am, yours very respectfully,

EDWARD F. DELANCEY,
Corresponding Sec'y. N. Y. Hist. Soc'y.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
NASHVILLE, March 10th, 1888. }

J. W. Andrews, Esq., Chairman Centennial Committee.

DEAR SIR—The Tennessee Historical Society has received your kind invitation to attend the approaching celebration of the settlement of Ohio, at Marietta, on the 7th proximo.

I regret very much to say that, in all probability, none of our members will be able to be present on the interesting occasion.

This Society begs to send fraternal greetings and earnest wishes for the complete success of the celebration. The Washington County Pioneer Association and Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society deserve much credit for inaugurating the movement.

Very respectfully,
ANSON NELSON,
Rec. Sec.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1888.

Dr. J. W. Andrews, Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR:—Your card of invitation to attend the Centennial celebration of the landing of the first settlement at Marietta in the Northwest Territory, and to make an address, was received, and I hoped until within a few days that I would have the pleasure of accepting it, and of sharing with you in the ceremonies of this interesting

event; but it is now manifest that I can only do so by a neglect of the public business committed to my charge, and I know that neither the men who founded the settlement at Marietta nor its citizens of our day would justify a neglect of the public business to participate in a celebration so interesting even as your Centennial. I share in the opinions and enthusiasm of my friend Senator Hoar, who will deliver your principal address. I believe, with him, that the ordinance of 1787, and the settlement of the Northwest Territory chiefly by revolutionary soldiers from New England, was one of the most important civil events of the last century, second only to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution. All that has happened since that time, though not directly traceable to those events, has been colored by the principles and ideas of the first settlement at Marietta, and those which soon followed along the valley of the Ohio. These are the topics which will fill the minds of the descendants of the early settlers and of many millions who have spread over the Northwest and founded States, and cities, and villages, and hamlets without number, populated by many more millions than lived in the United States at the time of the settlement of Marietta, one hundred years ago.

My early association in boyhood times with the people of Marietta and the Muskingum Valley has always spread a halo of enchantment over the familiar scenes about you, and perhaps I, more than strangers less fortunate, will appreciate the interesting surroundings amid which you stand. Many of the old pioneer settlers were living at Marietta and Beverly when, just fifty years ago, I aided as a subordinate in the work of the Muskingum Improvement. A single life then carried me back to the first settlement at Marietta. The stories of hardship, of suffering, of Indian warfare, of constant watchfulness, of sturdy courage, and the simple habits of those early settlers, left an impression upon my mind that can never be effaced.

I would gladly add my affectionate remembrance to the many eloquent words that will be uttered in their praise and in extolling the wonderful progress which their sacrifices and services made possible.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1st, 1888. }

Mr. William G. Way, Secretary, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to attend the Centennial of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of April next. It is not probable that my official duties here will permit of my being present upon this interesting occasion, but should it be possible to leave I will gladly attend. There are many features of peculiar interest to Americans, and to the entire human race in the development you commemorate. Perhaps the world does not afford an instance in which man has shown all the elements of greatness to such an extent as in the growth of these communities.

Very truly yours,

C. R. BRECKINRIDGE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., 29 March, 1888. }

Hon. Douglas Putnam, President, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—I acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of yourself and Messrs. Andrews and Way, in asking me to be present at your Centennial in April next.

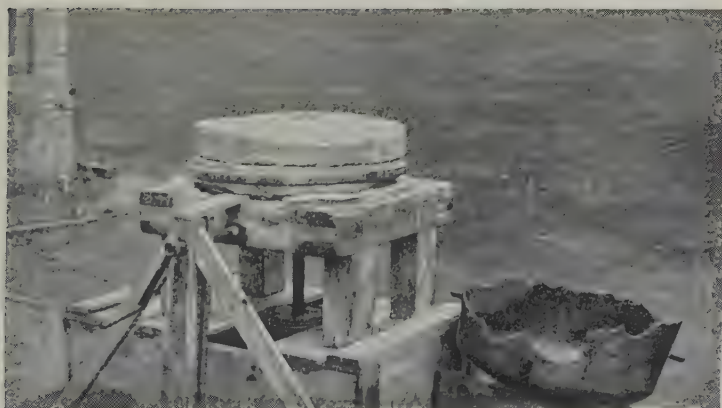
If my engagements permitted, I would gladly embrace the opportunity tendered me, and would join cheerfully, as a son of one of the "old thirteen" States in commemorating the birth of other sisters, which have added so much of glory and greatness to our common country. But other duties prevent my attendance so I am constrained to send my regrets, with my best wishes for the success of your celebration, and the assurance of my appreciation of your kind attention to myself.

Very truly yours,

SAM'L DIBBLE.



BELL USED IN CAMPUS MARTIUS, 1788.



FIRST MILLSTONES AND SALT KETTLE IN OHIO.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., }
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1, 1888. }

William G. Way, Esq., Secretary, Marietta, O.:

DEAR SIR—The kind invitation to attend the Centennial celebration of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory is received. Distance and press of business precludes my acceptance. However, I should delight to join in a celebration commemorative of an event fraught with such consequences in the history and development of this country, and that laid the foundation for the achievements, greatness, importance and possibilities that cluster around this favored portion of our favored nation. Accept my thanks and regrets.

Yours very truly, WALTER I. HAYES.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, }
WASHINGTON, March 22, 1888. }

Mr. William G. Way, Secretary, etc.:

I have been honored by your invitation to be present at the celebration of the Centenary of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory at Marietta. While prevented by pressing daily labors here from participating in this most interesting historical commemoration, you have my earnest wishes for the success of the laudable endeavor to do honor to the patriotic men who first planted civilization in the Ohio wilderness a hundred years ago.

Very respectfully, A. R. SPOFFORD.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
BOSTON, March, 19, 1888. }

Professor Israel W. Andrews, Marietta, O.:

DEAR SIR—I have the pleasure of informing you that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will be represented at the Centennial celebration in your city on the 7th proximo by Hon. George B. Loring of Salem, Professor

Frederick W. Putnam of Cambridge, Rev. E. E. Hale, D. D., of this city, and Rev. Temple Cutler of Essex.

Regretting that I shall not be able to be with you, but feeling glad that the State is to be so well represented,

I am yours very respectfully,

OLIVER AMES.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., March 24, 1888.

William G. Way, Esq.:

Permit me to acknowledge, through you, the Secretary, the invitation to Mrs. Hawkes and myself to attend "the Centennial of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory," which will be on the 6th, 7th and 8th of April.

Such an observance is a most worthy one. It appeals to the lofty sentiment of patriotism in us, and to our veneration for the noble and wise men who, under the Ordinance of 1787, not only settled at Marietta, but also laid the foundation of great States.

I am sure that the event will be fitly commemorated. Of this we have assurance, both in the interest taken in it by the people of Marietta and its vicinity, and the societies that have united in its commemoration, and also in the ability of the distinguished gentlemen who will be the principal speakers.

We greatly regret that we cannot accept the invitation to be present. The many years of our residence in Marietta, the affection we have for the people and institutions, and our sincere sympathy with the spirit that has prompted the observance, and the ends it is intended to promote thereby, impel us to be with you. But engagements and duties that cannot be put aside forbid it.

We shall rejoice in the tidings of a celebration which will, undoubtedly, be befitting and successful.

With sincere esteem, yours truly,

T. H. HAWKS.

BOSTON, March 8, 1888.

To Messrs. Douglas Putnam, Israel W. Andrews and Wm. G. Way, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIRS:—I beg to present to the Committee of Arrangements my acknowledgments of their exceeding favor in extending to me an invitation to attend, at Marietta, Ohio, on the 6th, 7th and 8th proximo, the Centennial celebration of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, under the auspices of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society and the Washington County Pioneer Association.

The occasion can not fail to be of great interest, and I regret that my engagements here are such as will make it impossible for me to be present. My paternal grandfather, Col. David Cobb, whose compatriots in arms settled Marietta, in 1788, was, I believe, interested personally in that enterprise.

I can not doubt the coming celebration will be one worthy of the important event to be commemorated, as well as a fitting testimonial to the memories of the brave men who left the East to establish for themselves a new home in the then far West.

I thank you sincerely for your kind remembrance of me at this time. I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

Your Obedient Servant,

SAMUEL C. COBB.

In addition to the foregoing many letters and notes were received from those who had been specially invited, regretting inability to be present. Among others in the possession of the Committee are letters from Mr. Justice Blatchford, of the United States Supreme Court, Hon. Chas. S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. W. C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, Senators J. D. Cameron, Jonathan Chace, John H. Mitchell, J. R. McPherson, Hon. Henry H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, Dr. James B. Angell, Major General

D. C. Buell, Hon. J. S. Robinson, Secretary of State of Ohio, Rev. A. P. Putnam, of Concord, Massachusetts, General J. D. Cox, S. R. Reed and E. R. Montfort, of Cincinnati.

RELIC DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTENNIAL.

ONE of the interesting and attractive features of the celebration was the display of historical relics. It was a matter of great regret to the Committee that a list and catalogue of the articles, with the names of owners and exhibitors could not be prepared before the celebration.

The following is a complete list of articles displayed. The value of the list would be greatly enhanced could the name of the owner of each of the articles be given, but this is impossible.

PIONEER DEPARTMENT.

Tailor's goose, shears, thread-box and thimble, used in making suit for Blennerhassett; not dated.

Old lock key, found in old jail cellar; no date.

Pewter platter, used in 1779.

Conch-shell, brought from Vermont in 1800.

Wooden latch, made and used in 1768.

Brass spoon, moulds, made in 1768.

Beads and scissors, made in 1813.

Anvil, used by first jeweler in Marietta; date not known.

Powder horn, used in the Revolution.

Pewter platter, supposed to be a hundred years old.

Hunting fork, used 92 years ago.

Pewter platter, used in the block-house at Fort Harmar in the years 1788-89.

Pewter plate, date not known.

Curtain knobs or holders, 1700.

Brass padlock, a puzzle; date not known, but over 100 years old.

Rolling-pin, in constant use over 100 years.

Brass ladle, used in 1788.

Memorial tablet of the Misses Eunice and Elizabeth Lankton.

Pin cushions, made in 1800.

Carved corset board, made in 1788.

Shoes worn by the betrothed of

Nathan Hale, the hero of the Revolution.

Tea-kettle, used in 1788.

Press-board, on which was pressed clothes for the Revolutionary soldiers.

Masonic apron of deer skin, made in 1788.

Small china tea-pot, used in 1788.

Shoe buckle, 1792.

Very old slippers, date not known.

Piece of Plymouth Rock.

Wine glass, about 75 years old.

Small gilt pitcher, date 1812.

Pewter platter, date 1768.

Silver sugar tongs, date 1738.

Shell sugar bowl, 1830.

Pewter tea-pot, date 1768.

Stock buckle, date 1796.

Pill-box, owned and used by Dr. Leonard, who married Lida Moulton, daughter of Wm. Moulton, one of the forty-eight, 1788.

Plate, tea-pot, cup and tea-spoon, used by Rufus Putnam.

One bailer, used to bail water from a canal.

Ambrotype of Wm. R. Putnam.

One half skirt woven by Elizabeth Pearson, of Rowley, Miss., who in 1762 married Enoch Tappan, of Newburyport, Mass.

One mirror, almost if not quite 100 years old.

One pocketbook, 1727..

Pieces of velvet and fringe that formed a part of the military saddle-skirt of General George Washington, and used by him during the Revolutionary war.

Two pieces of silk that were a part of a dress that belonged to Mrs. Miles Standish, and which she wore as a wedding dress in 1620, and was brought from England by her in the ship Mayflower in the same year.

A letter from Rufus Putnam to Colonel Ichabod Nye in 1806, relating to the first lodge of Masons in Putnam, then called Springfield.

Six ball tickets, from 1809 to 1814 inclusive.

Feather fan, 50 years old.

Cradle used in the old Fort, 92 years old.

Office chair of the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory, Paul Fearing.

Candle-sticks owned by Paul Fearing and used in the old Fort, 90 years old.

Baby clothes, 92 years old.

Commodore Whipple's tongs, 109 years old.

Wine-chest belonging to General Joseph Buell, 1786.

Linen pants, 51 years old.

Linen shirt, made in 1803.

One large spinning wheel, 1 small wheel and 1 reel, all 100 years old.

One iron candle-stick, made in 1795.

One cane, date not known.

One sword, 100 years old.

One religious book, published in 1733.

Powder-horn, 75 years old.

One cup and saucer, 65 years old.

One cup, saucer and spoon, 1719.

Mortar and pestle, 1788.

Silver sleeve-buttons, 1798.

Linen thread made in 1778.

Pictures of Captain Wm. Bartlett and wife copied from a painting made in 1777.

Pictures of Henry Bartlett, who came to Ohio in 1796.

Picture of Amos Porter, last survivor of the 48, born in 1769.

Picture of the Rt. Hon. Samuel Turner, Lord Mayor of London, sent to America in 1797.

Saw used by Stephen Devol, a ship carpenter, who came to America in 1800.

Warming pan, made in 1713.

Tape loom, age unknown.

Wool cards, age unknown.

Warming pan, age unknown.

Candle-sticks, made in 1788.

Candle-sticks, age unknown.

Candle-sticks, 100 years old, once owned by General Rufus Putnam.

Picture of Mrs. Mary Dana Emerson, born in 1786. Mrs. Mary Dana was in the Farmer's Castle Belpre during the Indian War. She left New England near the close of the last century.

Piece of first carpet woven in Marietta.

Picture embroidered by Mrs. Nahum Ward in 1815.

Wooden mortar and pestle, used in 1805.

Wooden mortar and pestle, age unknown.

Wooden mortar and pestle, used for pounding coffee and spices in the Fort; was burned in a camp fire.

Picture of Ephraim Cutler.

Bellows, about 100 years old.

Bellows, used in 1810.

Warming pan, age unknown.

A bowl which belonged to Governor Meigs.

Tea-kettle, brought from Grave Creek, Va., in 1792.

Pair of brass andirons.

Chair of Governor Meigs.

Box carved by Paul Fearing.

Cedar imported in 1649.

Butter bowl, over 100 years old.

Two pieces of brick from the old well at Campus Martius.

Kettle owned by Mrs. James Owen, the first white woman who settled in the Ohio colony. It

was used in cooking their first meal.

Commission of Jonathan Haskell, given in 1797, signed by President Washington.

Painting, age unknown.

Drum made April 22, 1785; it

was carried through the War of 1812; age 103.

Andirons.

Pair andirons.

Wooden cradle, used in Fort Harmar.

Traveling trunk, used by Dr. Cutler in coming to Ohio in 1788.

OLD CHINA AND OTHER ARTICLES.

La Fayette soup tureen, ladle, 1816.

La Fayette dish, 1816.

La Fayette plate, 1816.

Tea-pot and sugar bowl, 75 years old.

Gravy dish.

Cup, 100 years old.

Custard cup and saucer, 75 years old.

Dish, 135 years old.

Sugar bowl, 100 years old.

Tea caddy, very old.

Two cups from Danbury, Conn., 1810.

Two cups over 100 years old.

Soup ladle.

Vase, very old.

Three custard cups, 75 years old.

Tea caddy.

Cup, 1825.

Plate, 50 years old.

Scent bottle from Ireland, very old.

Irish custard-cup, old.

Tea caddy, 119 years old.

Cream pitcher, 1787.

Cream pitcher, over 100 years old.

Pitcher, 80 years old.

Gravy dish, from Danbury, Conn., 1775.

German wine pitcher, made in the time of Martin Luther.

Cup, 200 years old.

Wine glass, from Danbury, 75 years old.

Cup and saucer, 200 years old.

Brass candle-stick, very old.

Cream pitcher, 75 years old.

Plate and saucer, 100 years old.

Plate.

Three saucers, 100 years old.

Snuff-boxes from the battle field of Wilderness.

Sugar-bowl and plate, 88 years old.

Chinese plate, 65 years old.

Tea caddy, 1825.

Plate, 1825.

Vase, 1730.

Cup plate, 100 years old.

Bowl, very old.

Cup and saucer, from Danbury, 1800.

Small plate, 75 years old.

Cream pitcher, 1825.

Chinese idols.

China plate, over 100 years old.

Chinese plates, 65 years old.

Tea-pot, very old.

Mustard pot, over 100 years old.

Large plate, one of the first made in England; over 200 years old.

Cup and saucer, 80 years old.

Custard cup, 1810.

Vegetable dish in four sections, over 100 years old.

Cream jug, over 100 years old.

Brass candle-stick, very old.

Child's silver candle-stick, 1814.

Sugar bowl, bought in New York in 1811; brought to Ohio in 1818.

Old-fashioned combs.

Silver teaspoon, 150 years old.

Silver sugar tongs, 1795.

Large silver spoon, brought by Mr. Peter Gaitree from France. 75 years ago.

Teaspoon, 1773.

Silver candle snuffers.

Silver teaspoon and tablespoon, 125 years old.

Lace collar, woven in 1838.

Cushion lace, made by great-

grandmother of Mrs. Rolston, in 1700.

Embroidered swiss, by same lady.

Three beaded reticules, very old.

House-wife, used in 1810.

Work-pocket and pin cushion, 100 years old.

Lack work made in 1827.

Three hand-painted silk collars, very old.

Silk tissue scarf, very old.

Lace wedding veil, worn in 1824; brought to Ohio in 1838.

Dress cap, 75 years old.

Hand embroidery, made in England; very old.

Work pocket, 60 years old.

Bead bag, about 50 years old.

Punch bowl, 125 years old.

Wine glass, owned by first teacher in Ohio—Barheba Rouse Greene.

Tea set, 90 years old.

Silk mits (2 pairs), very old.

Black satin sleeve, 100 years.

Silk tissue scarf, 105 years old.

Wedding slippers, 75 years old.

Silk ribbons, very old.

Ivory fan, 70 years old.

Feather fan, 30 years old.

Cup and saucer, 150 years old; came from England.

Two waiters, 100 years old.

Japanese waiter, very old.

Cup and saucer, 82 years old.

Plate, 1738.

Decanters, 1810.

Cup and saucer, 1810.

Bowl, 150 years old.

Platter, 75 years old.

Cup and saucers, 75 years old.

Decanter, 150 years old.

Decanter, 1816.

Platter, 74 years old.

Tea canister, 1785.

Decanter, 100 years old.

Plate, 150 years old.

Pitcher, made in Liverpool, Eng., to the order of Captain Stone, of Maine, soon after the stars and stripes were adopted as the American flag.

Sampler, 105 years old, wrought by a descendant of John Rogers.

Kensington embroidery, 100 years old.

Cloak clasps of Hon. Paul Fearing.

Silk reticule.

Crape dress, 1778.

Infant dress, 1849.

Apron, 1849.

Valentine, four books, 1830.

GERMAN DEPARTMENT.

Wooden box, 150 years old.

German sermon book, composed by Prof. Alenger, 130 years old.

Two vases, 75 years.

Clothes brush, in use 55 years.

Cream pitcher, 60 years old.

German military hat, supposed to have been in use during the war of the Revolution.

German prayer book, over 100 years old.

Cheese mould, over 100 years old.

China soup bowl, 90 years old.

Piece of German linen sheet, woven by hand, 150 years old.

Cake pan, 100 years old.

Dagger, very old, unknown workmanship.

Two cups and one saucer of Gotha Porcelain, 60 years old.

Cup and saucer (gilded) Meis-seur Poreclain, 80 years old.

Baby cap, 85 years old.

Fancy cup and saucer, 75 years old.

Old portrait of a lady of last century, 180 years old.

Bead embroidered memorandum book, 50 years old.

Paper weight from Germany.

Water pitcher, very old.

Cane, 155 years old.

Picture, over 100 years old.

Quilt, 75 years old.

Quilt, 125 years old.

Piece of calico wedding dress, 125 years old.

Table cloth, very old.

Canteen and ammunition bag carried by a German soldier through the Franco-Prussian war in 1870.

Cream pitcher, 50 years old.

German home-made linen towel, 150 years old.

German home-made linen tablecloth, 200 years old.

Warming pan, 100 years.

Pitcher, 40 years.

Bead purse, 75 years.

Gold clasp, 100 years.

Bottle, 67 years.

Black cap, 75 years.

Chinaware from the old country.

Wedding ring, 78 years.

Old piece of money (1738). This piece of money was found in the woods of Germany by some children. It was found buried in a crock in a stump. There were

2,000 pieces. This coin was one of them.

Work box, 80 years.

Money case, 200 years old.

Hand-made lace, very fine.

Enameled watch, 100 years old. French make.

Letter box, 75 years.

Books over 100 years.

Martin Luther statue, very good.

A piece of German castle, very old.

A black silk apron, 75 years old.

Suspenders, 35 years old; came from Germany.

A German Bible, 217 years old.

Three books; one is over 118; the second is over 100; the other is over 90.

MOUND-BUILDERS, INDIAN, AND MINERAL SPECIMENS.

George Pillsbury's display.

Deer skin—Miss Hobby.

One bow, 5 arrows, pair moccasins, tobacco pouch, belt, whistle—Mrs. Barbour.

Tomahawk and sheath, tobacco pouch, birch bark canoe—C. W. Newton.

Bead pin cushion, watch case and bag—Miss Letha Putnam.

Leggins, pipe, knife, fork and spoon, birch bark canoe, box and hornet's nest.

Indian necklace—John Garry.

Bracelet—Mrs. Andrews.

Collection of specimens—R. G. Lawton.

Collection from William Russell, Williamstown.

Collection from Richard Greene, Newport.

Gun—S. L. Grosvenor.

Collection from Mr. T. K. Wells.

Pair of moccasins and belt—Miss Dimond.

Shell church—Mr. Silas Chesbro.

A case of beautiful mineral specimens and Indian curiosities—C. G. Slack.

Case of specimens—Mr. Magee, Lower Salem.

Specimens—Wright L. Coffinberry, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One specimen iron pyrites, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One specimen square block polished gypsum, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Two oblong blocks, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One specimen crystalline, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One specimen gypsum crystals, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One gypsum card receiver, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One specimen lime stone containing crystals, Grand River.

One fossil rock, Grand Rapids.

One hemisphere rock with fossils, Grand Rapids.

One piece ancient coral, Petoskey, Mich.

Fragment Mastodon tusk, Byron Center, Mich.

One piece native copper, engraved, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One piece copper ore, Upper Peninsula, Mich.

BOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS RELICS.

One piece battle flag, Bull Run.
 One Indian flute.
 One Indian vise.
 One map of Lowell and town-
 ship of Lowell.
 One bear trap—been through a
 fire—broken.
 One map of City of Grand Rap-
 ids, Mich.
 Memorial Poem in German,
 written on the death of George
 Washington.
 Prayer Book published in 1794.
 Account Book of 1789.
 Deeds bearing the signature of
 John Quincy Adams.
 English Bible of 1803.
 English Bible of 1793.
 Arithmetic of 1785.
 Chemistry of 1784.
 Geography of 1814.
 Fifty dollar bill of 1779.
 English Bible of 1788.
 Arithmetic of 1826.
 Sermon on the beginning of
 England, printed in 1730.
 Essay on the Union, by Cotton
 Mather, printed in 1727.
 Plat of Campus Martius, sup-
 posed to be the only one in ex-
 istence.
 Photograph of Lewis Clark, the
 "George Harris" of "Uncle Tom's
 Cabin."
 Ten dollar bill of 1815.
 Paper printed at Vicksburg
 during the Siege.
 Regimental books of Revolu-
 tion.
 English Bible of 1665.
 Account Book of 1743.
 English Dictionary of 1759.
 Geometry of 1624.
 "The Christian Sabbath," 1650.
 English Bible of 1648.
 Cook Book of 1798.
 Cook Book of 1816.
 Book of 1664.
 Testament of 1795.
 "Genesis" of 1830.
 Valentine of 1830.
 Bible of 1648.
 Frame of noted autographs.

Old newspapers of 18th and
 19th Centuries.

CANES.

Cane carved with 42 figures by
 a boy at the Children's Home.
 Cane carried by B. F. Hart at
 Battle of Shiloh in 1862.
 Cane made from Waterford
 block-house.
 Persian cane.
 Cane made in 1716.
 Cane cut on the battlefield of
 Arbela.
 Cane of Colonel Grosvenor,
 who fought in Revolutionary war.
 Ironwood cane from Australia,
 88 years old.
 Cane cut on Blennerhassett Is-
 land in 1840.
 Cane from first apple tree in
 Ohio.

MILLINERY DEPARTMENT.

Bonnet 60 years old.
 Wedding bonnet 22-years old

Loaned by Wm. Dana, Belpre:
 Plank from the Mayflower, the
 boat which brought the first set-
 tlers of the Northwest Territory.

Loaned by George Dana, Esq.,
 Belpre, O., the following articles:

Volumes from the first library
 established in the Northwest Ter-
 ritory. This library was in exist-
 ence October, 1796, and was first
 called "the Putnam Family Li-
 brary."

Portrait of Mrs. Mary Bancroft
 Dana, taken in 1825.

Portrait of George Dana, sen-
 ior, taken in 1825.

Portrait of Deborah Ames
 Fisher, wife of George Dana,
 senior, taken in 1825.

Silver buckles worn by Debo-
 rah Ames Fisher.

Fire shovel (cost \$50 in Conti-
 nental money), brought to Bel-
 pre in 1798 by Captain Wm. Dana
 and Mary Bancroft Dana.

FOREIGN ARTICLES.

- Shells from Micronesia.
- Turkish mirror.
- Bulgarian tea set.
- Brass plates, Persia.
- Persian pen case.
- Children's shoes, Damascus.
- Cup of Aloes wood.
- Greek prayer book.
- Model of Swedish wooden shoes.
- Persian silver spoon with tea glass.
- Persian coffee cups.
- Persian amber beads.
- Turkish beads of sandal wood
- Turkish pipes.
- Persian writing case.
- Persian serpentine stone ware.
- Swedish bread baked in 1868.
- Models of rice-flour dishes from Gautemala.
- Coral, Micronesia.
- Model of Honolulu surf boat.
- Specimens of the "Lee" (garland) of the Hawaiian.
- Persian seal, over 2,000 years.
- Coin taken from the ruins of Pompeii. (Yale University mistakenly claims to have the original.)
- Chop-stick, China.
- Olive-wood paper cutter, Jerusalem.
- Austrian wooden cup.
- Persian jewel box.
- Fish-hook, Micronesia.
- Combs, Persia.
- Woman's shoes, Persia.
- Persian lamp.
- Persian silver bowl.
- Spoons, Persia.
- Ancient tile, Persia.
- Tile from ruins of ancient mosque, Persia.
- Gourd seed, Guatemala.
- Persian books.
- Turkish books.
- Hawaiian primer.
- Chinese book.
- Syriac books.
- Pottery from the Ash-hills of the ancient Fire Worshipers, Persia.
- Persian comb-box.
- Turkish horn spoons.
- Maholibee spoons, Turkey.
- Canton crape.
- Chinese spectacles.
- Chinese charm.
- Bamboo wood, Japan.
- Solid silver lamp used by the Vestal Virgins sometime in the fifteenth century, and found in the ruins of old Mission Chapel in Old Mexico.
- Dish from Oasis of Fezzan.
- Mahommedan prayer stone.
- Persian cap and bib.
- Old Persian embroidery.
- Persian drawn work.
- Persian basket.
- Koran.
- Koordish woman's shoes.
- Persian daggers.
- Shoes from Hamedan.
- Box from Tabrig.
- Persian woman's shoes.
- Dressing case, inlaid work from Ispahan, Persia.
- Russian semover or tea-urn.
- Russian box.
- Caucasian mits.
- Bulgarian towels.
- Chinese cap-basket.
- Sword of sword fish taken from the Bosphorus.
- Persian newspaper.
- Nestorian woman's needle book.
- Monthly Syriac newspaper.
- Persian money bag.
- Nestorian socks.
- Indian child's shirt.
- Tray cloth, Gautemala.
- Hand painted flag from Persia, painted at Teheran.
- Front of Queen Esther's tomb, Hamadam, painted by a Jew.
- Persian Kirnian shawl.
- Old Nestorian embroidery, Persia.
- Persian water jars.
- Persian perforated brass work.
- Mountain grass, Mt. Seir, Persia.
- Koordish shield, made of hide.
- Koordish mountaineer's shield.
- Koordish powder horn and shot bag.
- Turkish tea cosy.
- Turkish pistols, flint lock.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Sword, ancient Damascus blade. | Koordish mountaineer's costume. |
| Persian tile. | Persian scales. |
| "Shamla," of Persia, woman's head dress. | Bag made of palm fibre, New Zealand. |
| Very old Persian embroidery. | Persian caps. |
| Persian door curtains. | Indian aprons, Guatemala. |
| Chinese embroidery. | Koordish woman's distaff. |
| Chinese looking-glass. | Dervish bowl, half of a nut. |
| Chinese cushion. | Nestorian child's dress and head dress. |
| Chinese slippers. | Koordish woman's costume and head dress. |
| Chinese shoes. | Persian woman's indoor costume. |
| Chinese silk apron. | Persian woman's head dress. |
| Chinese embroidered silk tea gown. | Persian woman's street costume. |
| Chinese fan, used as bonnet by the Chinese women. | Persian gentleman's costume and hat. |
| Paper from China. | |
| Zook work from a small town on Mt. Lebanon. | |
| Siamese scroll. | |
| Bedouin blanket, Syria. | |

EDITOR'S NOTE.

It is but just to Dr. Henry Storrs to say that owing to distance, his address has been printed and is published in this issue without having been submitted to him for proof-revision.



ISRAEL W. ANDREWS, D. D., LL. D.,

OHIO

Archæological and Historical

QUARTERLY.

Vol. II

SEPTEMBER, 1888.

No. 2.

ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED
AT MARIETTA, JUNE 26, 1888.

BY WILLIAM P. CUTLER.

A CHRISTIAN missionary was discussing the grand problem of immortality with a learned Chinese philosopher, presenting to him the truth as revealed in God's word and believed by all Christians. He was met with the declaration, made with evident sincerity by the Chinaman: "The immortality that I desire and expect is, that I may live in the remembrance, the love and reverence, of my posterity; this is the motive that inspires my efforts to lead a virtuous life."

We are thus presented with the expression of a sentiment, which is of common acceptance, and has become a controlling power, moulding the character of a nation numbering one-third of the human race. So thorough and intense has that sentiment become, that it forms the basis of individual worship as well as of national life.

I do not know from what source China derived that idea, but I do know that away back in the past centuries a Voice was heard, mingling with the thunder and lightnings of

Heaven, uttering the commandment of promise: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." I also know that the same Voice has said: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man, and fear thy God: I am the Lord."

I do not know that the "ancient people," the founders of national life in the "land of Sinim," either heard or heeded that Voice, but I do believe there is a conservative power in that principle and guide of human conduct sufficient to impart *longevity*, not only to individuals, but to communities and nations.

If China did catch the echo of that Voice, did accept that promissory note, has adopted in good faith, however ill directed, that sentiment and principle, the Maker of that promise has not and never will dishonor his own paper.

In other words there is a conservative influence in the right application and exercise of that principle which calls out and cherishes not only the filial affections in life, but embalms memories, virtues and services of departed friends in a way that elevates, purifies and gives a positive and healthy direction to individual and national life. A bond that binds every part of the social system to a common center is reverence and affection for the dead. This gives harmony, strength, and perpetuity to the whole. The individual or community that cordially adopts that divine precept will live the longer for it.

I am not a croaker or grumbler, but rather a pained observer of a lack of that reverence and affection which is due from the young to the aged, that hurried forgetfulness of past merit and services, that discourteous sneer at "old fossils" which is becoming current in our country.

China has corrupted the promise into idolatry, and idolatry has made her heathen; but China to-day is the oldest nation among the races of men. Her days have been long in the land the Lord hath given her.

All communities have something in common, something that contributes to all alike, either in character or value. Each one has its location, privileges, public buildings, beginnings, history—even individual enterprise and investment may enhance the common weal—but there is nothing more valuable to any community than the character of its own citizens. It is therefore incumbent upon all to cherish and guard with honest fidelity the reputations and good name, especially of those who have in any wise spent life or property in promoting the common welfare. This obligation runs beyond the tomb. It is not enough simply to observe the old injunction, to “say nothing but good about the dead;” but the example of every worthy citizen should be cherished and published for the imitation and guidance of those who follow after.

As an illustration of the value to a community of the character and reputation of their own citizens, I may be indulged in saying that nearly forty years ago it became my duty to offer in the New York markets the municipal and corporate securities upon the sale of which depended the successful prosecution of an important public enterprise. At that time Western bonds of that kind were a novelty. They were a form of credit that were subjected to a most careful scrutiny. One of the strongest reasons that contributed to their successful introduction and sale upon the market was found in the high personal character of the business men and merchants of the respective localities. I can testify to-day that the high-toned integrity of that class of their citizens went very far to procure the sale in foreign markets of the bonds of Marietta, Harmar, Chillicothe, and of the Counties of Washington, Athens and Ross. The corporate securities of the railroad which these people were then struggling to build, found a favorable introduction and sale from the same source.

No community can prosper without good citizens, not solely active, energetic and wise builders of their own fortunes, but with enough of public spirit to promote all

objects of common utility. Those "solid men" of the past are gone but their characters helped to build one of the most important and costly public improvements in the State of Ohio. Their characters went away from home and there was a money value in them to their respective communities.

A half century ago, a young man started out from his New England home on life's journey, and following the track blazed out through the wilderness by earlier pioneers, landed in Marietta. His capital was principles, ideas, character. He brought neither wealth, titles, authority nor the prestige of high rank, but he brought Israel Ward Andrews,¹ and that was enough. His outfit was that of a Christian teacher and an educator, having the acquisitions of a student's life. His commission and letter of introduction was the diploma from Williams College at the hands of its President, Mark Hopkins. He found here a college with a charter, a building and a beginning of regular classes. Young Andrews accepted the position of

¹Israel Ward Andrews, was born in Danbury, Conn., Jan. 3, 1815, one of six sons of William and Sarah Parkhill Andrews. The father, Rev. William Andrews, descendant of William Andrews, one of the first settlers of New Haven, graduated with high honor at Middlebury College in 1806, was settled as pastor at Windham, Conn., afterwards at Danbury and finally at Cornwall, where he died in 1838. He was strongly attached to the old New England theology, of which he was a zealous and able defender and was one of the founders of the East Windsor (now Hartford) Theological Seminary. He was an earnest and forceful preacher, distinguished for clearness of style and power of logical reasoning. Though without other means than the small salary of a country clergyman, he gave a college education to four of his six sons and a professional training in law and medicine to the other two. These six brothers have filled many posts of usefulness in the pulpit, at the bar, as instructors in colleges, in medicine, and in the army. They have contributed to literature important works on Biblical history, the doctrine of the church, political science and geology. One of these works, "The Life of our Lord," by Rev. Samuel J. Andrews, of Hartford, is one of the best known authorities in the English language on some of the difficult questions of gospel history. Dr. Andrews thus came of that race which a great writer has called the Brahmin Caste of New England; and of a family of brothers that is remarkable even in its class.—*From the Memorial Address by Prof. D. E. Beach.*

tutor. This placed him in the line of duty as instructor in an institution designed by its founders to become a Christian college, that is, an institution aiming to give to young men the highest literary and scientific culture with a full recognition of the truths and moral obligations of God's recorded will to man. In accepting this position and devoting his energies to the infant college, where he was soon advanced to the professorship of mathematics, he did not shun or withdraw himself from the duties and obligations of a citizen of his adopted home.

At that time the common school system of Ohio was in a crude but progressive form. The law for "the better regulation of common schools" was passed in 1825. By its provisions the State of Ohio assumed for the first time the duty of extending to her children a common school education at public expense. The first lessons to be learned under that enactment were for the people themselves to put in operation a system of laws committed to their hands for execution. This was really the work of one generation. Marietta was not behind other communities in giving efficiency to the common school laws, but it was a time when wise, prudent and energetic work was needed. For twenty years after the passage of the law, graded schools were unknown. Scholars of all ages and degrees of progress were committed to the care of the same teacher. The first departure may be recalled as the "Akron system." Then followed general laws providing for school organizations according to age and acquirements, but this required more buildings and in some cases more teachers and of course more expense.

In effecting this advanced movement in Marietta, Dr. Andrews co-operated cordially and efficiently as a citizen with other friends of education. He brought to bear the experience and results of his native State, Connecticut, upon the general subject; and in this way gave valuable aid in organizing and perfecting a system of common schools of which Marietta has since been justly proud.

Not only was he willing to aid in this most appropriate line of a citizen's duty, but he was ready at all times to identify himself with every enterprise of public utility. I well remember that the first line of levels to decide the practicability of a railroad grade that would suit the interests of Marietta were run by the Professor of Mathematics of Marietta College. It was a preliminary of the route now in use westward of this city.

His influence was always exerted for all similar enterprises. No system of drainage or grading of streets had been adopted in Marietta at the time he was in charge of his professorship in college. He volunteered his services at slight remuneration to lay out the system as it has since been carried out. As a business man, he managed his personal affairs with the greatest economy, regularity and success. A fair proportion of his acquisitions was invested in Marietta property. His liberality was guided by a spirit of discriminating benevolence, embracing the broad fields of missionary enterprises, at home and abroad; and his contributions represented a much larger proportion of his income than is usual. Not only were all the ordinary calls of Christian benevolence cheerfully met, but very many young men struggling through their course of study were aided either by his own personal means or from funds that he had secured for that specific purpose from others. In all business and social relations he was the reliable, the public-spirited, the good, citizen, as well as the learned and accomplished educator and religious teacher.

His efforts in promoting the interests of common schools were not confined to his own locality. He was at all times a most active and useful co-worker with others in all parts of Ohio and the west in giving a healthy direction to educational efforts. His attendance abroad upon school conventions and institutes was frequent and his addresses and advice most highly prized. He also regarded the school as the fountain to which the college

must look for its supplies of students. He took the broad and comprehensive view that carried him beyond the chair of a professor and led him into the wide field of the common school as a recruiting agent for his classes. He acted upon the theory that a love for learning once implanted by thorough instruction at the start, would multiply the number of those who would press forward to higher attainments.

Upon the resignation of Dr. Smith in 1855, Dr. Andrews became invested with the responsible duties of the presidency of the college.

He assumed those duties at a time when the future of the institution depended mainly upon the character and efficiency of its executive head. It was no sinecure, very little of the ornamental, very much of uncertainty and hard labor. It must be made a fountain from which the pure streams of literary culture and Christian principles would be sent forth to bless the country. But it had acquired a capacity for absorbing money. Its Board of Trustees were mainly business men, who were necessarily occupied in their several pursuits. They had contributed liberally, but still there was no permanent endowment, no state or national aid. The only capital the college had was what might be roughly termed its "capacity to beg," the mute appeal of a great want to intelligent benevolence. The successful exercise of this power of appeal rested entirely upon the confidence that could be inspired in the minds of donors, in the purposes of the institution and in its management. All the elements of confidence were represented by its executive head. Friends at home and strangers abroad must first be satisfied with that head, or no pecuniary aid could be obtained. Upon him, therefore, devolved the double task of giving assurance that a high tone of literary and Christian culture would be maintained, and that its finances would be economically and honestly managed.

I do not mean that President Andrews ever assumed a

control of management or that its Board of Trustees ever relinquished or neglected their own responsible duties. There was at all times harmony of action. Differences of opinion brought out discussion, but conclusions once reached the Board was a unit. Dictation was never attempted, — advice and counsel were given and taken. This was an element of Dr. Andrews's strength. He could afford to have his co-workers, the Board, know their duties and exert their proper influence without exciting jealousy or irritation. He therefore stood before the public as the executive of a united management. His personal influence was thus greatly strengthened and enhanced.

Notwithstanding the cordial support derived from an influential and united Board of Trustees, the great burden of responsibility rested on his own shoulders. He was really the "committee of ways and means," the responsible financier to provide money and meet current obligations. With occasional rays of sunshine, the clouds of debt and deficits have been in constant attendance; yet it may be stated that the financial credit of the college has remained sound. Promises to pay have been met, services have been rewarded, and a large list of beneficiaries have received instruction free of charge.

At the time he accepted the presidency the pecuniary support of the college amounted to \$90,000; at this time the entire property is estimated at \$260,000. There are additional pledges, to be realized upon certain contingencies, amounting to \$200,000. One of the largest of these comes from his native State. It may fairly be claimed that a very large proportion of the amounts added to the funds of the college during his administration resulted either from his direct efforts or from the confidence the donors reposed in him. Marietta therefore is now enjoying the benefit of an investment, either now made or in certain prospect, of \$46,000 in an educational institution of more value to the community than anything else; and

her people are indebted to Dr. Andrews mainly for that result. The saving of money to residents in educating their sons, as well as payment of teachers, and the expenditure of those who come from abroad to enjoy the benefits of the college, all of which goes into the channels of business, constitutes an item of commercial value worthy of mention and recognition.

The annual catalogues show that a large proportion of the students in college classes and the academy are from Marietta and vicinity. The economy of home life to such is great. The others expend here money brought from abroad. It may be fairly claimed that the money value of the institute to Marietta is not less than \$50,000 per annum. This may seem a sordid view, and is so, as compared with the vastly more valuable results annually flowing from the college. Probably only a small proportion of those whose names appear on the annual catalogues as residents of Marietta and vicinity would have incurred the expense and difficulties of securing an education at a distance from home. A recent annual catalogue shows one hundred names from Marietta and vicinity. But its influence has not been local solely; it has drawn students from all parts of the country, and its influence, with the reputation of its executive head, has become national.

But there is another aspect of his character and labors that is worthy of special regard. He aimed to place the college on the highest plane of literary, scientific and moral culture. The funds at command did not furnish that complete assortment of scientific and experimental machinery that belonged to wealthier institutions; but the course of study adopted, and the constant aim of the President and Faculty, has been at all times to maintain a high grade of scholarship, to send out from its walls young men who could stand as the peers of any from other colleges. The more than 600 graduates who have gone forth are living witnesses to the success of this policy. This result has only been reached by earnest labor and honest fidelity.

Obedience to necessary regulations, resulting from the exercise of a wholesome discipline, has been characteristic of an administration, which can point to so large a number of useful and distinguished men in all departments of active service.

In accomplishing this grand result, this forming, moulding, and giving proper direction to the energies and character of young men, Dr. Andrews has inspired and retained the confidence, the respect, and best affections of the beneficiaries of his professional labors. In this he has realized the dream of the Chinese philosopher—he lives, is an *immortal* in the memories, the love and reverence of the hundreds who will cherish the recollection of his labors for their good as long as life lasts. The large donations made to the college by the alumni are an evidence not only of their own personal liberality, but also of their affectionate regard for its head.

It is not my purpose to discuss the literary and scientific elements that entered largely into Dr. Andrews's character. They are more appropriate topics for others to deal with. I take the liberty, however, of quoting from a most reliable source the following estimate of these characteristics:

"Dr. Andrews had no superior as an instructor and disciplinarian. He was one of the ablest mathematicians of the day, and before a college class he was an inspiration. No one of the five or six hundred graduates of Marietta College can ever forget his perspicuous, forcible, and exhaustive methods in the class room. The dullest and most diffident student was made at ease, and taught to express in the best way what he knew, and, in addition, every student was instructed in what he did not know. He was an artist, and the student departed from one of his recitations or lectures instructed and refreshed. He was not only a mathematician of the first rank, but he was a master of every branch taught in the college course. He was not satisfied with anything short of the exact, either in scholarship or character. This characteristic

was ever present with him. No guess-work could pass muster before him; no slip in language or expression could escape his acute observation, yet he was ever gentle, though firm in criticism.

"It was a good part of a liberal education to listen to his running criticisms in the class-room and in the rhetorical exercises. He could not tolerate shams or unfaithfulness in any form. Himself always punctual, he insisted that promptness was one of the cardinal virtues.

"As a writer and preacher, he had few if any superiors in force and clearness. He was a forcible writer on all subjects, and was a frequent contributor to the current newspaper and magazine literature."—(*Cincinnati Times-Star*, May 7, 1888.)

This tribute to Dr. Andrews has the merit and force of personal experience and observation.

His resignation of the executive office of the college in 1885 was accepted by the Trustees with great reluctance and only in deference to an honorable and successful service, claiming that relief from labor which is due to advancing age. He retained the Putnam Professorship of Political Philosophy, and thus continued to support the character and usefulness of the college. He remained a member of the Board of Trustees, and although relieved of much personal responsibility, continued with unabated zeal to watch over an institution that he cherished as a child during his life and which falls heir to his estate.

The outbreak of the rebellion was an occasion that called out a very general discussion of the organic principles of our government. The bold and continued assertion of state sovereignty had culminated in open defiance of the general government. Every citizen was obliged to decide as to his own line of duty. It was a time when clear definitions of public rights as well as wise counsels were needed. At the request of the "National Union Association of Cincinnati" he delivered an address before that body on June 2d, 1863, on the subject: "Why Is Al-

legiance Due? and Where Is It Due?" It was not the voice of the partisan or politician. It was the reasoning, the logic, the demonstration of a level-headed, conservative citizen, a learned expounder of the law and a true patriot.

After a most thorough historical treatment of both sides of the great controversy, he gives expression to sentiments that are worthy of repetition and remembrance. He says: "I have thus attempted to answer the two questions, Why do we owe allegiance? and where do we owe it?

"Allegiance is due from us, not because civil government is composed in part or in whole of powers which we, as individuals, have conferred upon it, but because civil government is a necessity, and we are necessarily subject to it.

"We are under government as we are born into a family; we are so constituted as to make its existence a necessity. In other words, government is of divine origin, and it is as much our duty to obey it as to avoid theft or murder. 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' and we are to obey and respect them for conscience sake—that is, because it is right to do so. Exceptions are to be judged of as in regard to other moral questions, and no disobedience can be allowed that is not strictly conscientious, and that does not itself sustain authority. * * * In our mixed government the highest allegiance is due to the Nation, and not to the State. If the State can absolve its citizens from their allegiance to the general government—that is, to the government that represents the whole people—anarchy at once ensues. The doctrines of state sovereignty, using the word in its strict and proper signification, is utterly destructive of all government, for it leads legitimately to secession, and secession is disintegration. There is no true sovereignty attributed to the States in the constitution, but on the contrary, all the powers involving it are delegated to the general government, and expressly prohibited to the States. The more we study the history of the country, both before the adoption of the constitution, and since, the more shall we be convinced that state sov-

ereignty never had any legitimate place in our government. State sovereignty is utterly antagonistic to nationality; and the consistent advocates of that doctrine are those who deny that we are a Nation.

"There is not the slightest desire on the part of any one to obliterate state lines. Though apparently complicated in structure our government is practically far more simple in its operations because of the division of the powers and functions between the State and Nation.

"Keep out the insane jealousy lest the rights of the States shall be encroached upon, and impress more reverence for law, and more respect for rulers whether State or national, and there is nothing to fear. Let my love of my country not be confined to a part but let it embrace the whole. Let no sectional feeling dwarf or pervert my patriotism. The doctrine of state sovereignty has furnished the pretext for secession and secession has plunged the Nation into civil war. The falsity of the doctrine is now written in bloody lines, and the groans of the battle field call upon us to abandon it. The Nation's life must be preserved, and the government, whose duty it is to preserve it, must be sustained.

"The allegiance of the citizen, as we have seen, is not a matter of choice, but a duty. And if the citizen owes allegiance, the government owes protection.

"As it is the duty of the parent to protect his family, so it is the duty of the ruler to defend the nation over whom he is placed. He must do it. He has no option in the case. The duty grows out of the very nature of his office as ruler. Even were there no written constitution and no oath of office, the duty to suppress a rebellion would be imperative."

While it is true that the rebellion was put down by force of arms, such words "fitly spoken," such sentiments so clearly stated have had more weight than artillery, and more efficiency than musketry, in forever settling the controversy, and giving permanent peace to the whole people.

As an author, Dr. Andrews has rendered a most valuable service to his country, in the preparation of his "Manual of the Constitution." With characteristic diligence and thoroughness he has not only condensed the organic ideas that form the basis of our republican system in a form to render them intelligible, as well as forcible, but he has traced out their historic origin. The work was prepared for a text-book for our colleges and higher institutions of learning. This has brought it under the immediate notice of the most competent judges. It has received the commendation of Presidents, Justices of the United States Supreme Court, of Senators and Representatives in Congress, of Governors, of distinguished lawyers, and of leading educators in a large number of literary institutions. As a result of the careful examinations and criticisms to which such a work would very properly and necessarily be subjected, it has been very generally adopted as a text-book for the instruction of American youth in the principles of their government. The views, which I have quoted from his Cincinnati address upon the important topics of state rights and national sovereignty, are embodied and taught in this text-book.

In harmony with this important labor, embracing so much of the nation's political history, his attention has been directed to other historical discussions. A notice of these topics will be appropriate to this occasion.

The observance of the National Centennial of 1876 was an occasion that directed general attention to subjects of American and local history. Dr. Andrews was selected to prepare a history of Washington County, Ohio. This brought him into direct contact with subjects that he has since pursued with great diligence and thoroughness. His address was delivered at Marietta on July 4, 1876, and was published in a pamphlet.

He identified himself actively and efficiently with the Washington County Pioneer Association, taking a lively interest in all its proceedings, and turned his attention to

a careful investigation of the causes that led to the first organized settlement of the Northwest Territory, begun at Marietta, April 7, 1788.

He has presented to the public addresses and papers upon the following subjects:

1st. An article on West Virginia, published in 1878.

2d. On the Admission of Ohio to the Union, published in 1879.

3d. Address at Fiftieth Anniversary of Marietta College, 1885.

4th. Early Money, a Review of McMaster. *Magazine of Western History*, June, 1886.

5th. Northwest Territory, published in *Magazine of American History*, August, 1886.

6th. Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, *Magazine of American History*, 1887.

7th. Ordinance of 1787; address before the National Education Association, Chicago, July 13th, 1887; published in Salem, Mass.

8th. Paper on Ordinance of 1787 before the American Historical Association, Washington, 1886.

9th. To the above may be added his address before the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, delivered a short time before his death.

These papers have earned for Dr. Andrews a national reputation for thorough investigation and accuracy in historical subjects.

The near approach of the centennial anniversary of the first organization and permanent settlement of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, under the ordinances of May 20th, 1785, and of July 13th, 1787, undoubtedly stimulated Dr. Andrews to a careful inquiry into the causes that led to the establishment of civil government and social order in what was then a vast and savage wilderness. The subject itself had escaped the attention of most professional historians. A few items embraced in brief chapters constituted the only notice given to one of the

most important events in American history. The reasons why a systematic and well organized plan of settlement was devised and executed had never been fully explained. Most of the personalities connected with it were consigned to as dark an obscurity as rested upon the mummies of the Egyptian tombs. A more important service was never performed for our great nation or for humanity than was accomplished by men whose names were consigned to oblivion, not intentionally, but from lack of careful investigation. Those men were found in the legislative halls of the old Continental Congress and in the ranks of the Continental army. From the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle, all the way down through its continuance, at its close by the peace of '83, and subsequently, there seems to have been a broad and comprehensive view taken of the immense value of the great Mississippi Valley. This view was taken by clear-headed men both in Congress and the army. Consequently there was harmony of efforts in securing practical results.

This great Northwest came to be regarded as the center, the very heart and seat of empire, upon which the coming power of the people could successfully unfold and maintain the grand theories and principles of republican institutions. It was a virgin soil, no long-established-fossilized abuses to be brushed away, no stereotyped evil habits to be overcome. The weeds of despotism or bigotry or ignorance had not filled the soil with their noxious seeds. To occupy this inviting field, to secure its successful cultivation, to plant the wheat before the tares could enter, to invite sunshine as darkness receded, to cast here an anchor that would forever hold the great Republic to its moorings, was a work not surpassed in importance by any in American history.

It was to the discussion of these grand subjects that Dr. Andrews turned his attention. He sought for the reasons why important steps were taken. Upon the search for correct dates, the acts of legislative bodies, even the right

orthography of names, the identity and acts of individuals, he brought to bear the thoroughness and accuracy of mathematical demonstrations. Lapse of time and exceedingly meagre records have rendered this pursuit difficult and not always satisfactory, but he has been very slow in making any historical statement until every source of evidence has been exhausted. In this interesting field he has performed a most important service to the truth of history.

In these different papers Dr. Andrews has carefully considered and presented the titles asserted to the Mississippi Valley by France, Spain and England and traced their origin and changes up to its acquisition by the United States under the treaty of 1783. Following this, he has made a careful examination of the claims of the States to the Northwest Territory and cited their several acts of cession to the United States. He has also reviewed the public acts of the Continental Congress by which the territory was prepared for permanent occupation in a manner that would best secure to the whole people the full benefits of political and personal rights, and its full enjoyment as property, with organic laws best suited for social order and the highest form of a Christian civilization. The two great ordinances of May 20, 1785, and of July 13th, 1787, are shown to be the basis and ground work for the great results that have followed. He has also made careful inquiry as to the personalities engaged in accomplishing these objects. He has shown that Congress and the army wrought harmoniously together not only to conquer the territory from Great Britain but also in organizing systematic plans of settlement under the ordinances for disposing of the territory as property and for the government of its inhabitants.

From these careful examinations he became convinced that an exceptional case of progressive civilization was presented in the first settlement of the territory northwest of the River Ohio. The State of Ohio was the first ever

admitted into the Union from United States territory outside of the original number. He has traced out with great care the exact date of its admission. He has shown that the two great ordinances were in force the moment the subjects of civil government placed themselves upon the soil they were designed to cover; that the plan of settlement was pre-arranged; that, in the language of a most intelligent observer of the movement, "the system had never before been attempted, and that it was the greatest undertaking ever attempted in America." It was undertaken by a selected body of the most robust, hardy, and industrious class of men. The real significance and historic value of what may be justly styled the "Birthday of Ohio," April 7, 1788, is to be found in antecedent preparations as much as in the definite date of consummation.

The following extract from a paper read by Dr. Andrews before the New England Historical and Genealogical Society in Boston, a short time before his death, presents his views upon this subject. He says:

"After the lapse of a hundred years it is not always easy to establish the precise date when a community had its beginning. Of the thirteen old States, and the twenty-five new ones that compose the American Union, it would be difficult to give for most of them the time and place of origin. The landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, though the day is definite, has not escaped controversy as to the place. But when Ohio began, and what was the starting point in time and place of the first settlement in the first territory of the United States, there is no question. General Rufus Putnam and his associates planted themselves on the north bank of the Ohio, at the mouth of the Muskingum, on the 7th day of April, 1788.

"Most beginnings in new regions are by a few settlers, perhaps by one; often the selection of the place is purely accidental. But this Ohio colony numbered nearly fifty

men, and they were but the advance guard, with a much larger number to follow. Nor did they wander about in search of a place. This was all determined before they left their homes. The company which they represented had bought of Congress a large tract of land, and they had located their chief town at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. The plan of the town had even been determined upon; the number and width of the streets, the form and size of the squares and blocks, as well as the dimensions of the town lots. In the library of the college at Marietta is a map of the town made by Rufus Putnam, in 1788, with every square and every lot numbered just as they are to-day; the number of lots extending from one to one thousand, which was the original number of shares in the company.

"The interest which attaches to this first colony, or settlement, in the western country is not wholly or chiefly in its being the first, though priority in a matter of settlement always gives pre-eminence.

"The region north of the Ohio has in itself great historic interest; and so, too, have the incidents connected with and determining the settlement. Then, too, the pioneers themselves were no ordinary men, and their characters are worthy of our study, as well as the work they did in laying the foundations of civil government in the great Northwest."

Dr. Andrews has shown in his papers, before referred to, that this general subject of a government for the Western Territory, or "back country" as they called it, had been before Congress for many years without any practical results until July, 1787. Crude and unsatisfactory outlines of a governmental scheme were the only fruit of their labors. He quotes from the historian, Bancroft, the following estimate of the vast importance of that particular crisis when the foundations of civil government were actually laid. Bancroft says: "An interlude in Congress

was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America, sublime and eventful in the history of mankind. * * * For a time wisdom, peace and justice dwelt among men—and the great ordinance which alone could give continuance to the Union came in serenity and stillness."

Upon this remarkable and striking statement of the historian, Dr. Andrews remarks that "This interlude in Congress, which was shaping the character and destiny of the United States embraced alike the ordinance for the government of the territory and the sale of lands. The two could not be separated. Richard Henry Lee, one of the committee, writes to Washington on the 15th of July, two days after the passage of the ordinance: 'I have the honor to enclose to you an ordinance that we just passed in Congress for establishing a temporary government beyond the Ohio as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands.'"

To these statements I may add that Nathan Dane, another member of the committee, wrote to his friend Rufus King on July 16th, enclosing a copy of the ordinance. He takes the same view, that the plan of "government" and the "Ohio purchase" as he termed it, were so intimately connected that each depended on the other, and both occupied the attention of Congress at the same time.

From these concurrent evidences it is quite obvious, I think, that those two transactions, the "plan of government and the sale of lands," made up, constituted that "interlude" which was "deciding the destiny of the United States of America," which was "sublime and eventful in the history of mankind." It is also evident that the "interlude" became a consummation, a living, actual reality when the associates of the Ohio Company took possession of the Northwest on April 7th, 1787. That "interlude" was the *prelude* to laying the founda-

tion of our empire, resting upon freedom, religion, morality and knowledge.¹

Dr. Andrews had no more patience with shams and cheats in history than in the class room. Hence his refusal to ignore well established dates and facts or yield to clamor or influence from any quarter to change that which the truth of history had made unchangeable.

He would not overlook the arrival and permanent settlement of the pioneer forces of civilization made under ordinances of law, and in fulfillment thereof, and which was in itself the establishment of civil government and social order, opening the gateway of an empire to the coming millions, and substitute in the place of such a "land mark" any incident that may have grown out of that antecedent event. This testimony to his fidelity and firmness in adhering to the truth of history is due to his memory.

I may venture to say, with great deference, that this historical society cannot afford to countenance inaccuracies, or even mistakes, much less concerted misrepresentations of historical facts. We are to stand for the truth of history, the truth of Ohio's history. Nothing more honorable can be found among the records or traditions of the nations than the events that culminated here on the seventh of April, 1788.

Dr. Andrews's relations to this society commenced with its organization on March 13, 1885. He esteemed it a

¹"From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a Constitution, with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, * * * and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all."—*Senator Hoar in oration of 7th of April, 1888.*

"Thus the ordinance to govern the territory and the scheme for its colonization at this place were almost cotemporaneous and stood related as cause and result."—*Hon. John Randolph Tucker in oration of 7th of April, 1888.*

privilege and pleasure to respond at all times to any demands the society made upon him. He has been, since its organization, one of its trustees, and has filled the position of associate editor of its *QUARTERLY*.

The deep interest he felt in Ohio's history, as well as respect and reverence for the memories of the "Founders of Ohio,"¹ led him to devote himself most earnestly to promoting an historical observance and celebration of the seventh of April as an event of national significance, and as one of special value to Marietta, to Ohio, the Northwest, and the Nation.

No one labored more zealously or contributed so much to the distinguished success that has attended our recent celebration, over which hung but one cloud of deep sorrow, his own absence. The vast audience assembled on that occasion sent him a most cordial greeting and kindly sympathy as a testimony of their high appreciation of his persistent labors in promoting a celebration that goes into history as the starting point of a new century. His life was not a noisy torrent or a "babbling brook," but rather the "still waters" from which sprang up the "green pastures" and fruitful fields. The youth of firm, well defined and righteous principles grew into a manhood of solid character and ripened into mature wisdom, sound learning and high attainments.

A contemporary has justly remarked that "in his death one of the most finished scholars of the century has been removed from the world of letters."

If duty called him to any place he filled it, filled it completely. The appellation, "thorough," bestowed upon one of England's greatest statesmen was a characteristic

¹At a meeting of the agents and proprietors of the Ohio Company, held in Marietta, in February, 1789, the following resolution was adopted, and placed upon their records:

"*Resolved*, That the 7th of April be forever considered as a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio Company, as their settlements in this county commenced on that day; and that the directors request some gentleman to prepare an oration to be delivered on the next anniversary."

of Dr. Andrews. He was thorough in personal attainments, both mental and moral, he was thorough in discharge of official duties, thorough in dealing with all social problems, thorough in business relations, thorough in historical investigations, a thorough patriot and Christian gentlemen, and as modest and unassuming as he was thorough. "Know ye not that there is a Prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

Such a life never dies, it lives on. It may be rounded up like a shock of corn fully ripe, and be gathered into God's granary, but the echo of past services, of deeds well done, comes back to us from the tomb and will travel on in a widening sphere of influence through the coming ages.

As we lay this garland upon his grave, a Voice that he always heeded assures us that this "mortal shall put on immortality," not the dream of a vain philosophy, not the uncertainty of tradition, but that immutable decree, "the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

THREE IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WESTERN LAND CESSIONS.

AMONG the documents relating to western land cessions brought before Congress, that are not found in the Journals, are the three printed below. They are all of great interest, and all difficult of access. I am not aware that the last one has ever been printed. The first two are found in Henning's "Statutes of Virginia," Vol. X; the third is printed from a copy furnished by the Secretary of State of the State of Connecticut. They are given in the order of their appearance, accompanied by a few prefatory remarks.

I.

THE MARYLAND DECLARATION OF DECEMBER 15, 1778.

On October 15, 1777, one of the Maryland delegates in Congress, offered the following amendment to the Articles of Confederation, then in course of preparation, which received the single vote of that State:

"That the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such States as claim to the Mississippi or the South Sea, *and lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained into separate and independent States, from time to time, as the numbers and circumstances of the people thereof may require.*"

On November 17, following, the Articles were completed and sent to the States, with a circular letter asking for their prompt ratification. Within a little more than a year all of the States but Maryland yielded assent and became parties to the Confederation. Maryland still refused. As her ratification alone was necessary to close the circle, and

as she was severely censured on all hands for her refusal, she felt called upon to justify herself to her sister States and to Congress. Her justification she put into two documents, both adopted by her Legislature the same day; one entitled "A Declaration," and the other "Instructions to the Maryland Delegates." The second is found in the Secret Journals of Congress under the date of May 21, 1779. The first is as follows:

BY THE STATE OF MARYLAND—A DECLARATION.

WHEREAS, The general assembly of Maryland hath heretofore resolved, "That the delegates from this state should be instructed to remonstrate to the congress that this state esteem it essentially necessary for rendering the Union lasting, that the United States in congress assembled should have full power to ascertain and fix the western limits of those states that claim to the Mississippi or South Sea.

"That this state considered themselves justly entitled to a right in common with the other members of the Union, to that extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in, or granted to individuals at the commencement of the present war: That the same had been, or might thereafter be, gained from the king of Great Britain, or the native Indians, by the blood and treasure of all, and ought, therefore, to be a common estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to all the United States, and that they should use their utmost endeavors that an article to that effect be made part of the confederation.

"That this state would contribute their quota of men and money towards carrying on the present war with Great Britain, for the purpose of establishing the freedom and independence of the United States according to such

rule of proportion as should be determined by the United States in congress assembled, and would pay their proportions of all money issued or borrowed by congress, or which might thereafter be issued or borrowed for the purpose aforesaid. And that this state would accede to and faithfully execute all treaties which had been or should be made by authority of congress, and would be bound and governed by the determination of the United States in congress assembled, relative to peace or war.

"That this state hath upon all occasions shown her zeal to promote and maintain the general welfare of the United States of America: That upon the same principle they are of opinion a confederation of perpetual friendship and union between the United States is highly necessary for the benefit of the whole ; and that they are most willing and desirous to enter into a confederation and union, but at the same time such confederation should, in their opinion be formed on the principles of justice and equity."

Which resolves, remonstrance, and instructions were by our delegates laid before congress, and the objections therein made to the confederation were submitted in writing to their consideration, and the several points fully discussed and debated, and the alterations and amendments proposed by our delegates to the confederation in consequence of the aforesaid instructions by us to them given, were rejected, and no satisfactory reasons assigned for the rejection thereof.

We do therefore declare that we esteem it fundamentally wrong and repugnant to every principle of equity and good policy, on which a confederation between free, sovereign and independent states ought to be founded ; that this or any other State entering into such confederation, should be burthened with heavy expenses for the subduing and guarranteeing immense tracts of country, if they are not to share any part of the monies arising from

the sales of the lands within those tracts, or be otherwise benefited thereby. In conformity to this our opinion, the sentiments of our constituents, in justice to them and ourselves; and least such construction should hereafter be put on the undefined expressions contained in the third article of the confederation, and the proviso to the ninth (according to which no state is to be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States), as may subject all to such guaranty as aforesaid, and deprive some of the said states of their right in common to the lands aforesaid.

We declare that we mean not to subject ourselves to such guaranty, nor will we be responsible for any part of such expense, unless the third article and proviso aforesaid be explained so as to prevent their being hereafter construed in a manner injurious to this state. Willing, however, to remove, as far as we can consistently with the trust conferred upon us, every other objection on our part to the confederation, and anxiously desirous to cement, by the most indissoluble ties, that Union which has hitherto enabled us to resist the artifices and the power of Great Britain, and conceiving ourselves, as we have heretofore declared, justly entitled to a right in common with the other members of the Union to that extensive country lying to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in or granted to individuals at the commencement of the present war.

We declare that we will accede to the confederation, provided an article or articles be added thereto, giving full power to the United States in congress assembled to ascertain and fix the western limits of the States claiming to extend to the Mississippi, or South Sea, and expressly reserving or securing to the United States a right in common in, and to all the lands lying to the westward of the frontiers as aforesaid, not granted to, surveyed for, or purchased by individuals at the commencement of the

present war, in such manner that the said lands be sold out, or otherwise disposed of for the common benefit of all the states; and that the money arising from the sale of those lands, or the quit rents reserved thereon, may be deemed and taken as part of the monies belonging to the United States, and as such be appropriated by congress towards defraying the expences of the war, and the payment of interest on monies borrowed, or to be borrowed, on the credit of the United States from France or any other European power, or for any other joint benefit of the United States.

We do further declare that the exclusive claim set up by some states to the whole western country by extending their limits to the Mississippi or South Sea, is in our judgment without any solid foundation, and we religiously believe, will, if submitted to, prove ruinous to this state, and to other states similarly circumstanced, and in process of time be the means of subverting the confederation, if it be not explained by the additional article or articles proposed, so as to obviate all misconstruction and misinterpretation of those parts thereof that are hereinbefore specified.

We entered into this just and necessary war to defend our rights against the attacks of avarice and ambition; we have made the most strenuous efforts during the prosecution of it, and we are resolved to continue them until Independence is firmly established. Hitherto we have successfully resisted, and we hope, with the blessing of Providence, for final success. If the enemy, encouraged by the appearance of divisions among us, and the hope of our not confederating, should carry on hostilities longer than they otherwise would have done, let those be responsible for the prolongation of the war, and all its consequent calamities, who by refusing to comply with requisitions so just and reasonable have hitherto prevented the confederation from taking place, and are therefore justly chargeable with every evil

which hath flowed and may flow from such procrastination.

By the House of Delegates, December 15, 1778.

Read and assented to, by order,

J. DUCKETT, C. H. D.

By the Senate, December 15, 1778.

Read and assented to, by order,

R. RIDGLY, C. S.

II.

THE VIRGINIA REMONSTRANCE OF DECEMBER 14, 1779.

Virginia was the State that made the largest claims to western lands. Disregarding the growing conviction that these lands ought to belong to the Nation as a whole, and not to the individual States claiming them, Virginia prepared to open a land office for the sale of lands southeast of the Ohio river. This action led certain land companies claiming large tracts of land on that side of the Ohio, within Virginia's alleged boundaries, to memorialize Congress to take such speedy action as would arrest the sale of the lands until Virginia and the companies could be heard by Congress and their respective rights be ascertained. Congress promptly referred these petitions to a committee with instructions to investigate. Furthermore Congress adopted, October 30, the following resolution :

"WHEREAS, The appropriation of vacant lands by the several states during the continuance of the war will, in the opinion of Congress, be attended with great mischiefs; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the State of Virginia to re-consider their late act of assembly for opening their land office; and that it be recommended to the said state, and all other states similarly circumstanced, to

forbear settling or issuing warrants for unappropriated lands, or granting the same during the continuance of the present war."

The *onus* was now shifted from Maryland to Virginia. This remonstrance is in defense of her position.

VIRGINIA, to-wit:

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE 14TH DECEMBER, 1779.

THE REMONSTRANCE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
VIRGINIA TO THE DELEGATES OF THE UNITED
AMERICAN STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

The general assembly of Virginia, ever attentive to the recommendations of congress, and desirous to give the great council of the United States every satisfaction in their power, consistent with the rights and constitution of their own commonwealth, have enacted a law to prevent present settlements on the north-west side of the Ohio river, and will on all occasions endeavour to manifest their attachment to the common interest of America, and their earnest wishes to remove every cause of jealousy and promote that mutual confidence and harmony between the different states so essential to their true interest and safety.

Strongly impressed with these sentiments, the general assembly of Virginia can not avoid expressing their surprise and concern, upon the information that congress had received and countenanced petitions from certain persons stiling themselves the Vandalia and Indiana company's, asserting claims to lands in defiance of the civil authority, jurisdiction and laws of this commonwealth, and offering to erect a separate government within the territory thereof. Should congress assume a jurisdiction, and arrogate to themselves a right of adjudication, not only unwarranted by, but expressly contrary to the fundamental principles of the confederation; superseding or controuling the inter-

nal policy, civil regulations and municipal laws of this or any other state, it would be a violation of public faith, introduce a most dangerous precedent which might hereafter be urged to deprive of territory or subvert the sovereignty and government of any one or more of the United States, and establish in congress a power which in process of time must degenerate into an intolerable despotism.

It is notorious that the Vandalia and Indiana company's are not the only claimers of large tracts of land under titles repugnant to our laws; that several men of great influence in some of the neighboring states are concerned in partnerships with the Earl of Dunmore and other subjects of the British king, who, under purchases from the Indians, claim extensive tracts of country between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; and that propositions have been made to congress evidently calculated to secure and guaranty such purchases; so that under colour of creating a common fund, had those propositions been adopted, the public would have been duped by the arts of individuals, and great part of the value of the unappropriated lands converted to private purposes.

Congress have lately described and ascertained the boundaries of these United States, as an ultimatum in their terms of peace. The United States hold no territory but in right of some one individual state in the Union; the territory of each state from time immemorial, hath been fixed and determined by their respective charters, there being no other rule or criterion to judge by; should these in any instance (when there is no disputed territory between particular states) be abridged without the consent of the states affected by it, general confusion must ensue; each state would be subjected in its turn to the encroachments of the others, and a field opened for future wars and bloodshed; nor can any arguments be fairly urged to prove that any particular tract of country, within the limits claimed by congress on behalf of the United States, is not part of the chartered territory of some one of them,

but must militate with equal force against the right of the United States in general; and tend to prove such tract of country (if north-west of the Ohio river) part of the British province of Canada.

When Virginia acceded to the articles of confederation, her rights of sovereignty and jurisdiction within her own territory were reserved and secured to her, and cannot now be infringed or altered without her consent. She could have no latent views of extending that territory; because it had long before been expressly and clearly defined in the act which formed her new government.

The general assembly of Virginia have heretofore offered congress to furnish lands out of their territory on the north-west side of the Ohio river, without purchase money, to the troops on continental establishment of such of the confederated states as had not unappropriated lands for that purpose, in conjunction with the other states holding unappropriated lands, and in such proportion as should be adjusted and settled by congress; which offer when accepted they will most cheerfully make good to the same extent, with the provision made by law for their troops, if congress shall think fit to allow the like quantities of land to the other troops on continental establishment. But although the general assembly of Virginia would make great sacrifices to the common interest of America (as they have already done on the subject of representation) and will be ready to listen to any just and reasonable propositions for removing the *ostensible* causes of delay to the complete ratification of the confederation, they find themselves impelled by the duties which they owe to their constituents, to their posterity, to their country, and to the United States in general, to remonstrate and protest; and they do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the commonwealth of Virginia, expressly protest against any jurisdiction or right of adjudication in congress, upon the petitions of the Vandalia or Indiana company's, or on any other matter or thing subversive of

the internal policy, civil government or sovereignty of this or any other of the United American States, or unwarranted by the articles of the confederation.

NATHANIEL HARRISON, S. S.

BENJ. HARRISON, Sp. H. D.

Attest: JOHN BECKLEY, C. H. D.

III.

THE CONNECTICUT CESSION OF OCTOBER 10, 1780.

On September 6, 1780, a committee of Congress to whom all the documents in relation to the subject, accumulated on the table, had been referred, submitted a report that Congress promptly adopted, as follows:

"That having duly considered the several matters to them submitted, they conceive it unnecessary to examine into the merits or policy of the instructions or declaration of the general assembly of Maryland, or of the remonstrance of the general assembly of Virginia, as they involve questions, a discussion of which was declined, on mature consideration, when the articles of confederation were debated; nor, in the opinion of the committee, can such questions be now revived with any prospect of conciliation; that it appears more advisable to press upon these states which can remove the embarrassments respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they cannot be preserved entire without endangering the stability of the general confederacy; to remind them how indispensably necessary it is to establish the federal union on a fixed and permanent basis, and on principles acceptable to all its respective members; how essential to public credit and confidence, to the support of the army, to the vigor of our councils and success of our measures, to our tranquillity at home, our reputation abroad, to our very existence as a free, sovereign and independent people; that they are fully persuaded the wisdom of the respective legislatures will

lead them to a full and impartial consideration of a subject so interesting to the United States and so necessary to the happy establishment of the federal union ; that they are confirmed in these expectations by a view of the beforementioned act of the legislature of New York, submitted to their consideration ; that this act is expressly calculated to accelerate the federal alliance by removing, as far as depends on that state, the impediment arising from the western country, and for that purpose to yield up a portion of territorial claim for the general benefit ;

“ *Resolved*, That copies of the several papers referred to the committee be transmitted, with a copy of the report, to the legislatures of the several states ; and that it be earnestly recommended to those states who have claims to the western country to pass such laws, and give their delegates in Congress such powers, as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation ; and that the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the articles.”

The following act is the reply that Connecticut made to this appeal :

OCTOBER, 1780.

This Assembly, taking into their consideration a resolution of Congress, of the 6th of September last, recommending to the several States which have vacant, unappropriated lands lying within the limits of their respective charters and claims to adopt measures which may effectually remove the obstacle that prevents a ratification of the Articles of Confederation, together with the papers from the States of New York, Maryland and Virginia, which accompanied the same, and being anxious for the accomplishment of an event most desirable and important to the liberty and independence of the rising Empire, will do everything in their power to facilitate the same, notwithstanding the objections which they have to several parts of it.

Resolved by this Assembly, That they will cede and relinquish to the United States, who shall be confederated, for their use and benefit, their right or pre-emption of soil in, or to so much of the vacant and unappropriated lands claimed by this State, contained and comprehended within the extent and limits of their charter and grant from King Charles the Second, and which lies and extends within the limits of the same westward of the Susquehannah purchase, so-called, and eastward of the river Misisipi, as shall be in just proportion of what shall be ceded and relinquished by the other States, claiming and holding vacant lands as aforesaid, with the quantity of such their claims unappropriated at the time when the Congress of the United States was first convened and held at Philadelphia. And it is further

Resolved, That all the lands to be ceded and relinquished thereby, for the benefit of the confederated United States, with respect to property, but which shall, nevertheless, remain under the jurisdiction of this State, shall be disposed of and appropriated in such manner only as the Congress of the United States shall direct, and that a warrant under the authority of Congress for surveying and laying out any part thereof, shall entitle the party, in whose favor it shall issue, to cause the same to be laid out and returned according to the directions of such warrant, and thereupon the interest and title of this State shall pass and be confirmed to the grantee for the estate specified in the said warrant, for which no other fee or reward shall be demanded or received than such as shall be allowed by Congress; *always provided,* that said lands to be granted as aforesaid be laid out and surveyed in Townships in regular form to a suitable number of settlers, in such manner as will best promote the settlement and cultivation of the same according to the true spirit and principles of a republican State; and the Delegates of this State in Congress, or any three of them, are hereby empowered and authorized, on behalf of this State, to agree to the location of

such warrants and surveys as shall be made by Congress according to, and in pursuance of, the resolves aforesaid, and whatever may be further necessary for the same being carried into full execution.

JANUARY, 1783.

Resolved, by this Assembly: That the Delegates of this State in Congress be instructed and directed, and they are hereby instructed and directed not to proceed any further towards carrying into execution the powers, authorities and directions to them given in and by a resolve of this Assembly passed at their sessions in October, 1780, touching the cession and relinquishment of this State's right in the western lands for the benefit of the confederated United States until further order from this Assembly.

This "cession," so-called, was never accepted by Congress, and in 1786 Connecticut made a second one conveying all her right and title to her western claims, with the exception of the Western Reserve.

B. A. HINSDALE.

THE FIRST CHURCH ORGANIZATION IN THE OLDEST SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH- WEST TERRITORY.¹

BY REV. C. E. DICKINSON.

Exodus: 19: 5-6.—“Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.”

SUNDAY, JULY 20, 1788, the first sermon preached to white men in the present State of Ohio was delivered on the banks of the Muskingum river, by Rev. Daniel Breck, from the text which we have just read. We can easily imagine that the eloquent divine on that important occasion laid before his hearers the principles which have governed God's dealings with communities and nations during the years of human history, and that he then pictured the blessings they might claim for their descendants, provided they obeyed the divine precepts.

The people who composed the congregation that day were far-sighted and enterprising beyond many of their contemporaries, but if they had then been told the material, social, intellectual, and religious progress which has been made during the last century they might have said, as did an ancient prophet: “If the Lord should make windows in heaven might these things be?” Where they then looked upon a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and savage men, we now see five great empire states, each one, in wealth and resources, surpassing the whole country a century ago, while the nation, then in its

¹ Historical discourse delivered in the Congregational Church, at Marietta, Ohio, April 8, 1888. At the service when the discourse was delivered Rev. Temple Cutler, of Essex, Mass., a grandson of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, and Rev. Samuel B. Shipman, D.D., of Cleveland, Ohio, a grandson of Joshua Shipman, who superintended the construction of the church building, were in the pulpit and took part in the exercises.

infancy, and almost bankrupt through war, is now the richest nation on the globe, and because it has the best government in the world is the asylum for the oppressed of all nations. Not alone the descendants of the Puritans and Cavaliers, but many who have not been here long enough to learn our language, point to the star spangled banner and say with honest pride, "I am an American."

I propose to-day to give some facts in the early history of this colony that we may understand how the settlers attempted to fulfill the conditions of the text, and so laid foundations for the blessings we now enjoy. The influences which led to the establishment of Christian institutions here were at work many centuries before the pioneers set foot upon this soil. We have been told that a few years ago a grain of Egyptian wheat was found in the hand of a mummy where it may have lain for 4,000 years. When planted this wheat grain grew and produced many fold, and it has since multiplied itself from year to year. The seed which was planted upon the bank of this "beautiful river" a century ago may be traced to the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth but it did not lie in the hand of a mummy during the intervening centuries. In the Apostolic age it produced many fold. Then imperial Rome attempted by fire, sword, and wild beast, to destroy every vestige of Christianity, but it flourished in the catacombs and mountain fastnesses. From the cliffs of the rocks it scattered its seed until it overran the empire. In the middle ages it was still fruitful though often compelled to escape from persecutions. The reformation in the sixteenth century greatly increased the harvest. The invention of printing and the discovery of America helped spread the truth. The Pilgrim fathers and their Puritan brethren, driven from their native land by persecution brought this seed to the New World and planted it in New England. Its fruitage there was a free church and a free school. Intelligence and Christianity became the corner stones of New England society. So thoroughly

were the people imbued with the spirit of God's word that neither the demoralization incident to eight years of war, nor the introduction of French infidelity could destroy these foundations.

Since the colony that settled at Marietta was composed almost entirely of New England men, we should expect that institutions of learning and religion would be introduced at the beginning of the settlement, and facts do not disappoint this expectation. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock their *primary* object was to establish a church in which they could worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, but they did not neglect to lay the foundations of a civil government, which was free, because the logical sequence of a church without a bishop was a State without a king.

The influence of New England thought secured for the Northwest Territory a charter of freedom in the Ordinance of 1787, under which the pioneers came to Ohio, *primarily* to better their fortunes and lay the foundations of a civil government, but these men did not neglect to lay broad and deep the foundations of the church and the school. Before the revolution the New England colonies had pushed their settlements westward until they had met the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, and when our independence had been acknowledged they looked farther toward the setting sun for more land to possess. The army officers and their associates, who formed the Ohio Company, were moved by patriotism, as well as by a desire to better their own fortunes. They knew that when they purchased the public lands with their certificates they would reduce the debt of the country for which they had periled their lives.

The Ohio Company, though a business corporation, had among its members several clergymen and others of decided Christian character. At a meeting of the Agents held at Rice Tavern in Providence, R. I., March 5, 1788, it was "Resolved, that a committee composed of Rev.

Manasseh Cutler, General Varnum and Colonel May consider the expediency of employing some suitable person as a public teacher at the settlement now making by the Ohio Company."

This committee reported two days later "that the Directors be requested to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth and the provision of public worship among the first settlers, and that for this important purpose they employ, if practicable, an instructor eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall also superintend the first scholastic institution and direct the manner of instruction, and to enable the Directors to carry into execution the intention expressed in these resolutions, the proprietors and others of benevolent and liberal minds are earnestly requested to contribute, by voluntary donations, to form a fund to be solely appropriated thereto." This resolution was confirmed by the Directors at a meeting held the same day, March 7. At the time this action was taken, the first company of pioneers were encamped on the banks of the Youghiogheny river, constructing the Mayflower of the West, which was to bear them down the Ohio and land them one month later at the mouth of the Muskingum. During the same month a subscription paper was prepared and printed for circulation. This quoted the resolutions passed by the Agents and Directors and appealed to the "benevolent and liberal minded" to contribute for this worthy object.¹

¹ This paper was as follows: "Whereas, the Agents of the Ohio Company at their meeting in Providence, State of Rhode Island, upon the 7th day of March, instant, passed the following resolution: 'That the Directors be requested to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth and the promotion of public worship among the first settlers, and that for these important purposes they employ, if practicable, an instructor eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall also superintend the first scholastic institution and direct the manner of instruction, and to enable the Directors to carry into execution the intention expressed in this resolution, the proprietors and others of liberal and benevolent minds are earnestly requested to contribute, by voluntary donations, to

We have no means of ascertaining how extensively these papers were circulated, or how much money was thus raised. About eight months later, under date of November 8th, 1788, Dr. Cutler wrote to General Putnam as follows: "I have requested Colonel Platt (treasurer) to forward a sum, raised for the support of preachers and schoolmasters, to the Directors at Marietta, of \$200, which will enable you to pay preachers and schoolmasters for the present." It is certainly a fair inference from such language that this sum was raised by the circulation of these papers. We also have evidence that resources from this source soon failed, for a year and a half later, March 29, 1790, it was "Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Agents that the Ohio Company's funds are holden to the amount of the orders which have been protested, being drawn on the ministerial fund, and for the payment of all expenses of supporting preaching to this time." If the orders drawn on the ministerial fund had been protested, we conclude there was no money in that fund. At a subsequent meeting, the Directors were requested "to ascertain from General Putnam and Dr. Cutler the state of the fund for the support of a preacher and for schools, in order that the uncertainty we are in, in respect to this important subject, may be removed." In April, 1791, the statement is made that the ministerial fund, so-called, has failed.¹ We find in the records of the Company for

form a fund to be solely appropriated thereto. That the Agents will exert themselves in promoting subscriptions and paying the monies they may collect into the treasury, and the treasurer is to report to the Directors at or before the next meeting.' And whereas, the Directors of the said Company by their vote of the same day, have fully approved the resolution aforesaid, and add their solicitations to the request of the Agents. We, therefore, the subscribers, anxious to promote so laudable an undertaking, do, each one for himself promise to pay to any one of the Agents of the Ohio Company the sums respectively annexed to our names. Dated March, 1788."

¹ This may refer to the rents of ministerial lands not then productive, but probably to the fund above mentioned.

nearly seven years that occasional appropriations were made for the support of preaching and to "pay the boarding" of the preacher. Thus a quarter of a century before the formation of the American Home Missionary Society the Ohio Company aided in planting Christian institutions in the Ohio Valley.

From the first landing of the pioneers at Marietta Sunday was observed as a day of rest. July 15, 1788, Rev. Daniel Breck, from Topsfield, Mass., a member of the Ohio Company, arrived at Marietta on a tour of observation, and on the following Sunday, July 20, he inaugurated public worship in the Northwest Territory. He preached in a "bower," on the banks of the Muskingum, which had been prepared for a Fourth of July banquet. This bower was probably very nearly in front of where this church stands. Colonel May, who was present on that interesting occasion, wrote in his journal as follows: "A large number of people were assembled, from the garrison ["Fort Harmar,"] Virginia, and our own settlement, in all about 300, some women and children,¹ which was a pleasing, though somewhat unusual, sight for us to see. Mr. Breck made out pretty well, the singing was excellent; we had Billings to perfection. Governor St. Clair was much pleased with the whole exercises."

At that time there was not a Protestant church for white people in the Northwest Territory, and not another clergyman there to preach the gospel in the English language. Now, in the five States carved from this territory, there are more than 22,000 Protestant churches, and more than 2,000,000 church members, and to-day not far from 17,000 clergymen unfold the truths of God's word to their congregations. All this is the growth of a century. Mr. Breck remained at Marietta five weeks. I find evidence in contemporary journals that he preached four

¹ The women and children were from the settlement in Virginia; only one family had then arrived at Marietta.

Sundays, and the fifth was probably not an exception. He left for his home August 18, and the next day Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., arrived in company with several pioneer families. He preached in the Northwest block house at Campus Martius on the three succeeding Sundays. August 24 he preached a sermon, specially prepared for the occasion, from Malachi I, 11: "For, from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts." In this sermon we find the following significant passage: "We, this day, literally see the fulfillment of the prophecy of our text, gradually advancing incense offered to the Most High God in this place, which was lately the dreary abode of savage barbarity. Here may the gospel be preached to the latest period of time; the arts and sciences be planted; the seeds of virtue, happiness and glory be firmly rooted and grow up to full maturity."

Thus, for eight consecutive Sundays, the settlers were favored with preaching by these eminent divines. From that time stated services were conducted for several months by laymen. According to the testimony of A. T. Nye, Esq., these were under the general direction of General Benjamin Tupper. For a considerable portion of the time the services were conducted by Mr. Thomas Lord, who was a graduate of Yale College, and had studied theology with a view to entering the ministry.

On the annual Thanksgiving, December 18, 1788, General Samuel H. Parsons (the son of a clergyman) officiated, as we learn from the following letter, written to Dr. Cutler: "I beg you will come on as soon as possible. We want you. I am sure you will be welcome. I can preach no longer for you. On the public Thanksgiving I was obliged, for the first time, to preach, much against my will, from Psalms ciii, 2, and such a piece of work I be-

lieve you never heard. I am sure I never did. To confirm my wife in her faith I have sent it for her perusal." From this letter we learn that the settlers were so thoroughly imbued with the religious sentiments of New England that the governor issued his proclamation for a public thanksgiving after the ingathering of the first harvest, and, though far away in the wilderness, and without a regular minister, the people gathered in their accustomed place for a religious observance of the day. We may suppose that after the services they repaired to their log houses and feasted upon venison, bear meat, squirrel pie, wild turkey, fish, and corn bread, with a dessert of pumpkin pie.

In the journal of one of the settlers, under date of November 23, 1788, we read, "Heard a sermon by Dr. Jones." Whether this was an itinerating clergyman who was that day entertained in the colony, or a sermon from that divine was read by a layman, we cannot tell, but the statement is additional evidence that Sunday worship was regularly maintained after July 20, 1788. This should be remembered as one of our important dates. April 7 marks the landing of the pioneers. August 19 the arrival of the pioneer families. September 2 the opening of the first court. July 20 is a not less important date, for on that day the primitive forests echoed for the first time to the sound of public prayer, singing and preaching. We trust the voice of public worship on the Lord's day will not cease to be heard in every city and hamlet in all our domains until the angel, with one foot upon the land and one foot upon the sea, shall proclaim that there shall be time no longer. There is still another important date, namely, August 25, when the first death occurred in the settlement; this was a child thirteen months old, named Nabby Cushing, who had arrived with her parents a week previous. Two days later, August 27, the weeping parents laid the little body in the grave. The funeral services were conducted by Dr. Cutler. They

buried the body in a coffin of cherry wood, which, at Dr. Cutler's suggestion, "was not colored, as an example for the future." We of the present generation have departed somewhat from that primitive simplicity.

We have already mentioned the meeting of the Ohio Company, held at Providence, R. I., in March, 1788. In addition to the resolution already quoted, it was voted at that meeting to authorize Dr. Cutler to search out and employ some suitable person to fulfill the intentions of the company in regard to religious instruction. Dr. Cutler expressed his interest in this matter in a letter to General Putnam in which he said, "I can in truth declare I know of no subject which lies with so much weight on my mind as that your settlement may be furnished with a number of able and faithful ministers; convinced, as I am, that religious establishments and social worship are essential in a civil view to the well-being of society, especially under free government. If no regard was had to the interests and concerns of a future world, you cannot be too solicitous to have them early established in your rising settlement." Acting under the instruction given him Dr. Cutler secured the services of Mr. Daniel Story, a native of Boston and a graduate of Dartmouth college, an uncle to Joseph Story the eminent jurist.¹ Mr. Story arrived at Marietta, March 19, 1789, and

¹In the following letter to General Putnam we have a description of the bargain made with Mr. Story: "The terms on which he goes into the country are that his board be given him; that he draw from the funds raised to support preaching \$4.00 in silver per week; that he be permitted to improve, if he pleases, a part of the land near the city granted for religious purposes; that the people be requested to assist in clearing and cultivating it so far at least as shall render his pay equal to \$5.00 per week; and that he be allowed a reasonable compensation for his expenses in going into the country. These were the best terms on which he would consent to go. He could have his board and \$5.00 per week here and constant employment. As he must lose several Sabbaths in going into the country, he conceived it reasonable that he should have a consideration for his expenses. There was no other person of respectable character whom I could employ on better terms."

preached his first sermon here on the following Sunday, March 22. From that time until 1796 he was in the employ of the Ohio Company and received a portion of his salary from their funds. He probably received a part from the voluntary contributions of the people. In 1790 Mr. Thomas Wallcut says he drew up a subscription paper for the purpose of raising money for the support of Mr. Story.¹

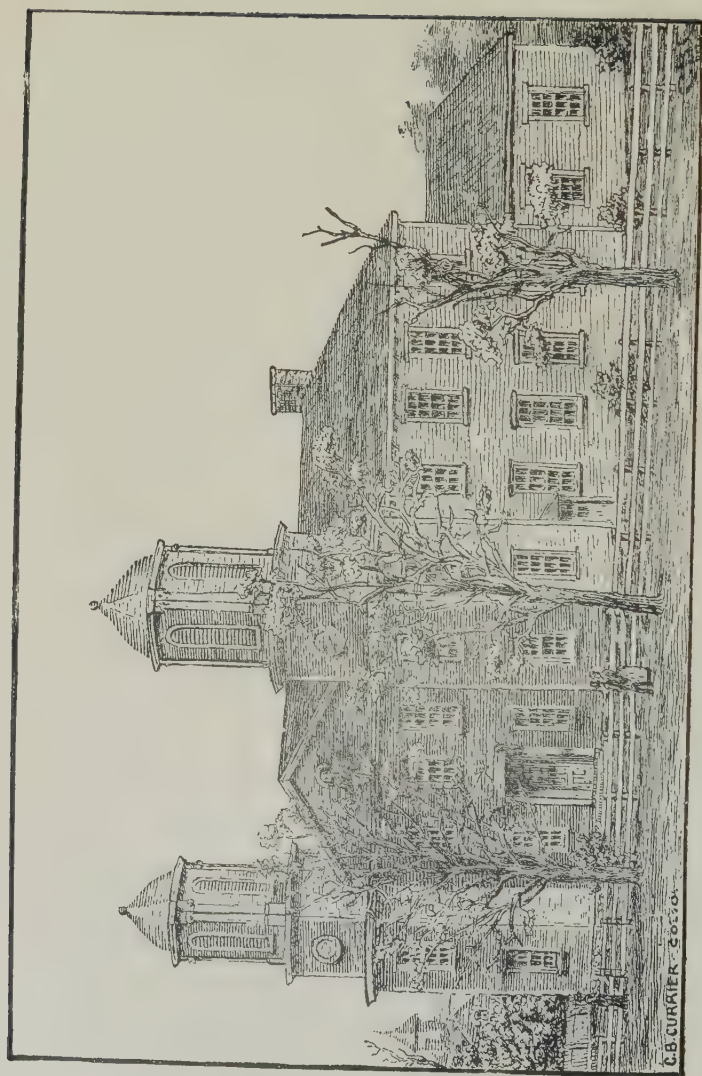
In the spring of 1789 settlements were commenced at Belpre and Waterford and arrangements were soon made by which Mr. Story preached at each of these places one Sunday in five. The services in Marietta were held in the northwest block-house at Campus Martius, and after 1790 additional services were held at Munsell's Hall at "the Point." The journey to Belpre and Waterford was made in a row-boat. During the Indian war these journeys were made at longer intervals and he was accompanied by an armed guard. Scouts frequently attended them, who examined the forest for traces of a savage foe. On the Sundays when Mr. Story did not preach at these settlements Colonel Ebenezer Battelle conducted services at Belpre, and Major Dean Tyler at Waterford; both these gentlemen were graduates of Harvard College. Their services consisted of singing, prayer and reading a sermon from some standard divine. The New England people, a century ago, were nearly all versed in psalmody and practiced congregational singing. Nearly all the people in the various settlements attended services and paid a proper respect to the ordinances of religion, though many of the men were not church members.

¹The paper was as follows: "Whereas, the worship and reverence of the Supreme Ruler of the world is essential to the well-being of society, and is the most solid foundation as well as the surest support of government and good morals with everything useful and ornamental to a civilized people; and whereas, we, the subscribers, are impressed with a sense of the importance of these blessings and of our obligations to secure and transmit them to our posterity to the latest generation, we do promise to give in money or labor what is affixed to our respective names."

As we now look back through the vista of a century, we cannot fully explain why the Christian people of Marietta waited more than eight years before they organized a church. Two or three churches were organized in the state before the one at Marietta and yet the people here had a regular pastor on the ground almost as soon as any other settlement was commenced and they had established regular Sunday services nine months earlier. We will not judge our brethren of a century ago, for we know the cause of Christ was dear to their hearts. They were in the wilderness, seven hundred miles from their former homes, and the journey must be made on foot, on horseback, or in farm wagons. The trip from Boston to Marietta and return required nearly as much time as is now consumed by a journey around the globe, and subjected one to many more inconveniences. The mails, after they were established, were quite irregular. Postage was so high and money so scarce that letters were sent in the knapsacks of friends whenever it was possible. Three months often elapsed after a letter was written before it reached its destination. The attention of the settlers was absorbed in the work of subduing the forests and establishing their homes, and they probably thought, and with a show of reason during the Indian war, that it might become necessary to abandon their enterprise. Some were probably reluctant to sever their connection with the old home church under such circumstances.

There were those in the settlement who were interested in this important subject. General Benjamin Tupper, who was one of the founders, and an officer in the church in Chesterfield, Massachusetts, anticipating a removal to Marietta, made application to the Hampshire Association in Massachusetts for a "form of church order and discipline fitted to a church to be erected in a new plantation." Reverends Judd, Strong, and Forward, were appointed a committee to draft such form "consonant with the scriptures," and deliver it to General Tupper. Diligent search

has failed to bring this paper to light. Dr. Wickes, in a sermon preached in 1846, says it was then in existence, and his description of it reveals the fact that, while it was congregational in principle, it claimed scriptural authority for the office of ruling elder. General Tupper died in 1792, and did not see a church set up at this new plantation. What influence the plan he secured exerted in determining the character of the church when formed, we cannot tell, but they did not adopt the office of ruling elder. December 6, 1796, the Christian people in the various settlements banded themselves together in a church under a simple but comprehensive confession of faith and covenant. Of the original members thirty-one had been members of Congregational churches in New England and one of a Presbyterian church in Linlithgow, Scotland. These brethren were so far removed from other churches that it was impracticable to secure their counsel, so, by the authority of God's word, they organized themselves into a simple, New Testament church, a church of Christ, and there is no record of any vote by which they assumed a denominational name, though from the first the business was transacted by the church. The persons composing the church resided in Marietta, Belpre, Waterford, and Vienna, Virginia, and on this account it required some time to perfect the organization. March 20, 1797, a church meeting was held, at which it was "voted that persons producing evidence to the satisfaction of the church that they are members in regular standing in any regular Congregational or Presbyterian church, and whose life and conversation whilst with us has been agreeable to the gospel, shall be admitted members of this church, notwithstanding they have not produced regular vouchers of their former membership." Several members were so received. The church was, from the first, broad and catholic in its spirit, and cordially invited members of other communions to share in its worship and participate in the sacraments.



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MARIETTA, OHIO. ERECTED 1809.

April 4, 1797, the church "voted that they would take measures for the settlement of two ministers in colleague as pastors thereof, provided the people of the several settlements where the members of the church reside shall concur therein, and make provision for their support." At the same meeting it was also "voted that Mr. Daniel Story be invited to the office of pastor in this church, provided the people concur and make provision for his support, as expressed in the last vote." Shortly after this meeting, Mr. Story left Marietta to visit his friends in New England, and the business of settling a pastor progressed slowly. Committees were appointed to canvass each settlement, and February 5, 1798, a meeting was held, at which it was reported that the people concurred in the vote of the church, and that sufficient subscriptions had been secured to offer Mr. Story a salary of \$300. We find nothing more in the records respecting a colleague, and therefore conclude that the subscriptions were not sufficient to support another man. February 8 a letter was sent to Mr. Story, giving the result of the canvass, and extending to him the call of the church. April 9, or sixty days later, an affirmative answer was received.

It was not practicable to convene a council in this distant settlement, therefore on May 15 the church "voted that Rev. Manasseh Cutler be, and he is hereby appointed agent for and in behalf of this church, to join with Mr. Daniel Story, the pastor-elect, in convening an ecclesiastical council, for the purpose of ordaining the said pastor-elect, and that Dr. Cutler represent this church in all matters necessary for having the said ordination effected." In accordance with this vote, a council was called by Dr. Cutler and Mr. Story, which convened at Hamilton, Massachusetts, August 15, 1798, at which time "Mr. Daniel Story was solemnly ordained as pastor of the church of Marietta and vicinity, in the Northwest Territory of the United States." This ordination was held

seven hundred miles from the church, with no member of the church present except the pastor-elect.¹ The charge given by Dr. Cutler is found in his recently published Memoirs. It was Christian and catholic in spirit. The only denominational allusion is as follows: "You have the honor, sir, to be the first regularly ordained and settled minister of the Congregational denomination in the extensive country westward of the Alleghany mountains. We, who are convinced that this denomination is most conformable to the sacred scriptures, and, from long experience, think it most consistent with the rights of conscience and religious liberty; most congenial with our national government and most favorable to those numerous municipal advantages which well-founded Christian societies endeavor to promote, feel much satisfaction in seeing it transferred to that new country." We, who still believe in the scriptural church polity may well express our regret that such sentiments were not universally prevalent in the New England churches during the next half century.

Mr. Story returned to Marietta April 3, 1799, and resumed his labors with the church. This, we shall observe,

¹ The following is an extract from the minutes of that council:

"After suitable examination of the pastor-elect, and mature consideration of the several matters before them, the council came to the following results:

I. Voted unanimously that the council is satisfied with respect to the qualifications of Mr. Story for the work of the gospel ministry, and of his being regularly called to be pastor and teacher of the church and association at Marietta and its vicinity.

II. Voted unanimously to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Story. The council then went in regular procession to the meeting-house where the Rev. Thomas Barnard introduced the solemnity by prayer. The Rev. Isaac Story (an uncle of the candidate) preached from 2 Cor. iv, 5. "For we preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus the Lord and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." The ordaining prayer was made by the Rev. Eli Forbes, the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler gave the charge, the Rev. Benjamin Wardsworth gave the right hand of fellowship and the Rev. Joseph Dana concluded the solemnities with an address to the throne of grace."

was two years after the vote to call him as pastor of the church. It seems strange to us, accustomed to the hurry of the present generation, that a period of time nearly equal to an average modern pastorate was consumed in the settlement of the first pastor of this church, but we must continue to bear in mind the distance which separated the settlement from New England and also that religious as well as secular thought has been greatly quickened during the last century. During Mr. Story's absence the services were principally conducted by laymen and the sacraments were omitted. The first election of deacons was held April 26, 1799, when Josiah Hart was chosen for Marietta; Joseph Spencer for Vienna, Virginia; Benjamin Miles for Belpre, and Nathan Proctor for Waterford. Mr. Story continued his labors in these settlements until March 15, 1804, when, at his own request, he was released from the pastorate. His health was greatly impaired and he ended his earthly career December 30 of the same year at the age of forty-nine.

Mr. Story's ministerial labors were almost entirely with the people in these settlements. He died here and his remains rest in the old Mound cemetery. He has been described as "a man of more than ordinary intellectual and literary attainments, a good preacher and very social in his disposition and intercourse." Most of his people were strongly attached to him and his influence was good. He is described as a man slightly below the medium stature, and a contemporary relates that he took his turn on guard during the Indian war.

In the early settlement of New England, when a new town was surveyed, it was customary to reserve one section of land for the support of the ministry and one for schools. When the Ohio Company laid out their lands they adopted a similar practice, and reserved in each township section 29 for the ministry and section 16 for schools. About the same time the general government adopted the same principle of reservation for schools in

all its territories; but since the constitution prohibited the union of church and State the ministerial reservation was very properly omitted, except by special enactment, as in case of the purchase by the Ohio Company. The ministerial section in Marietta fell within the city limits, and about the year 1800 began to yield a considerable income from rents. March 2, 1801, the first religious society was organized, according to an act of the legislature of the Territory, to take charge of the temporalities of the church. This society made a contract with Mr. Story, for the year 1802, at a salary of \$450; provided that amount was realized from the rents of the ministerial lands. The leading members of the society now hoped to be able to provide Mr. Story with a salary which should in some measure remunerate him for the sacrifice he had made in previous years; but about this time some members of the society withdrew and employed a Presbyterian minister to preach for them. In the interest of peace, Mr. Story voluntarily relinquished one half the ministerial fund to support the new church. In 1804, a second religious society was formed in the interest of this Presbyterian church. That church was discontinued after a few years. Other religious societies were subsequently formed, which have divided the ministerial funds in the ratio of adherents to the present time.

The early religious history of Marietta embraces the history of the first Sunday School in Ohio and one of the first in the country. Upon the outbreak of the Indian war, January, 1791, the commanding officer ordered all families in the different settlements to retire within their fortifications. Not less than thirty families took refuge within the stockade at Campus Martius. This consisted of a block of buildings surrounding an open space of 144 feet square. Among those who occupied rooms there was Mrs. Mary (Bird) Lake, wife of Archibald Lake. Mrs. Lake was an elderly Christian lady, who had been a nurse in our hospitals during the war of the revolution. She ob-

served the children playing in the enclosure during Sunday afternoon and conceived the plan of organizing a Sunday School. I cannot find conclusive evidence that any other Sunday School then existed in the country, although three or four had existed some years earlier. If any existed at that time it is not probable Mrs. Lake knew of them, but a warm Christian heart and love for the children prompted her to gather them together Sunday afternoon and teach them scripture lessons and portions of the Westminster catechism. This school was commenced in the spring or early summer of 1791, and was continued until the close of the Indian war in 1795, when Mrs. Lake removed with her family to a farm about eight miles up the Muskingum. She died in 1796, and her grave in the cemetery at Rainbow is at present unmarked. It is hoped that the Sunday Schools of Washington county will erect a suitable monument to her memory.

Mrs. Nancy Allison Frost, who was born October 22, 1784, was one of Mrs. Lake's pupils from the beginning of her school and is still living at Lowell, Ohio, in the 104th year of her age; she retains her faculties and has a very vivid recollection of scenes in Marietta during those early days. The writer had an interview with her a few months since in which she gave a very interesting account of Mrs. Lake and her Sunday School. It is not probable there is another person in this country, perhaps not in the world, who was a Sunday School scholar *ninety-seven* years ago. What changes have occurred during the life of this aged pilgrim. Nearly 4,000,000,000 human beings have been born and as many have closed their earthly career during these years, and the population of our country has increased twenty fold. The Northwest Territory was a wilderness when she was born, and she was a pupil in the first Sunday School here organized; to-day there are about 23,000 protestant Sunday Schools within these five states, with an enrollment of not less than 2,000,000.

The religious services at Marietta, during the first ten

years, were held in the Northwest block house at Campus Martius, and in Munsell's Hall at "the Point"; in 1798 the Muskingum Academy was built on the lot adjoining this church on the northwest. That building was used both as a church and school house until the erection of the present edifice, which was dedicated to the worship of God, May 28th, 1809, and is supposed to be the oldest building now used for church purposes west of the Ohio river. After the Muskingum Academy ceased to be used as a school house it was removed to Second street, where it was used as a dwelling house until it was demolished in the autumn of 1887.

This ancient church has maintained the Congregational polity during all its history, although it was connected with Athens Presbytery for a few years according to "The Plan of Union." It has always been liberal and catholic in its treatment of other denominations, and during the first fifty years of its existence probably gave more money in aid of Presbyterian than of Congregational churches. It has been the mother of seven or eight churches, and has contributed members and money to many others. It has also been a very liberal patron of the cause of education. The Muskingum Academy, though not a sectarian school, was built and sustained principally by members of this church. Marietta College owes its foundation and a large part of its early endowments to members of this church.

The years we have reviewed may be characterized as a time of foundation-laying. The church enjoyed no season of special revival during Mr. Story's ministry, although he received about twenty members on confession of faith. The settlement was made by people of much more than average intelligence and influence. Of the original fifteen male members, seven had been officers in the revolutionary army, and some of the others were men of liberal education. Such people were qualified to lay broad foundations for education and religion. After the resignation

of Mr. Story a prominent member of the church wrote a letter to President Timothy Dwight, D.D., of Yale College, asking him to send a candidate for the vacant pulpit; this letter contains a brief word picture of the man they desired. He said: "We hope he may be one who shall preach the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, without teaching for doctrines the opinions of men. One of liberal charity toward those who may differ with him in some points, wherein some of the greatest divines have not been fully agreed. One who, for the sake of displaying his learning and talents, will not entertain a common audience with meat which the strongest have not been fully able to digest; yet we desire and hope that he may be one of the first class for literature and science as well as popular talent." Such was the outlook for the young man who was sought as the second pastor of this church.

The civil and religious institutions of the Northwest have not all sprung from Marietta, for there were other centers of planting and of influence. Here was the first colony, and because the first, our pioneers laid foundations amid great difficulties. For several years in the early history they were liable at any time to find a savage foe behind any tree, stump or log. Money was exceedingly scarce and they had a severe struggle for existence, much more to increase their possessions. Under such circumstances there are strong temptations to neglect public worship and other religious duties, but, by Divine help, the Christian people among the pioneers were enabled to maintain their character in the face of these discouragements. Sunday was very generally observed as a day of rest, and in many log cabins incense arose from household altars. Dr. Manasseh Cutler should be remembered as a sort of spiritual father to the colony; although he made but one short visit to Marietta, his influence as a director of the Ohio Company secured many religious privileges for the settlers. Here was established the first regular preaching in the English language in the North-

west Territory, and here the first pastor resided. Here was organized the first Congregational church, and we are met to-day in this building which has been used for Christian worship *nearly eighty years*. It is not too much to say that the influence of this settlement and of this church has been a power for good in all parts of the great Northwest.

The era of material, social, intellectual and religious progress which has been so marked during the past century is yet in its beginning. Those who celebrate the bi-centennial will then witness advancement and improvements which would seem as wonderful to us as would what we now see to the pioneers. None of us can prophesy what is to be in the century to come. The star of empire holds its course westward and we are no longer limited to the Atlantic States for our scholars, authors, statesmen and presidents. The Mississippi valley has already become a power in the civilization of this country and the world, and this influence is steadily increasing. If we continue to govern our conduct by the principles of God's word; if we cherish and perpetuate the churches and schools which have been formed for us and establish others as they are needed, it will be true in the years to come that we "shall be a peculiar treasure unto the Lord above all people. A kingdom of priests and an holy nation."

WILLIAM DAVIS GALLAGHER.

[*Concluded from Volume I, Page 375.*]

The new "literary comet" thus announced was (pathetic repetition!) still another *Literary Journal and Monthly Review*, edited by L. A. Hine, and referred to by him some years later as "my first literary wreck." It was published at Nashville, Tennessee, and conducted nominally, by E. Z. C. Judson—"Ned Buntline."

In those years of prosperity and constant pen-wielding, Mr. Gallagher's muse was liberal. Then it was that the poet, caring more for the sentiment than the form of his utterance, dashed off the strong and fervent lyrics, by which he became really recognized as a man of original power. He sang the dignity of intrinsic manhood, the nobleness of honest labor, and the glory of human freedom. Much that he wrote was extremely radical; his poetry was tinctured with the gospel of Christian socialism, and the example he set was imitated by many other writers of verse.

"Be thou like the first Apostles—
Be thou like heroic Paul;
If a free thought seek expression,
Speak it boldly!—speak it all!

"Face thine enemies—accusers;
Scorn the prison, rack, or rod!
And, if thou hast truth to utter,
Speak! and leave the rest to God!"

Such lines as these, and as compose the poems "Truth and Freedom," "Conservatism," "The Laborer," "Radicalos," "The Artisan," "The New Age," "All Things Free," went to the brain and heart of many people; and it is not to be doubted that they exerted a deep and lasting influence. Of a more distinctly practical type were his melodious pieces describing the West and the life of the pioneer; and still more popular, in their day, were his songs, many of which were set to music and sung in thea-

ters and at the fireside. In 1845 was written his famous ballad, "The Spotted Fawn," which everybody knew by heart.

A man of Gallagher's principles could not be other than an opposer of slavery. When the office of the *Philanthropist*, the anti-slavery paper established in Cincinnati, by James G. Birney, was mobbed, and the press thrown into the Ohio river, Gallagher was one of the citizens who, meeting with Hammond, Chase and others, at the *Gazette* office, arranged for a public meeting to be held at the Court-house, for the purpose of sustaining free speech. Years afterwards, in 1848 probably, Gallagher's feeling on the slavery question became so positive that he felt it a political duty to withdraw from the *Gazette* in order to edit the *Daily Message*. "The most I remember about this paper is," so he wrote in 1884, "that I gave its editorial columns altogether too anti-slavery (not abolition) a tinge to make it acceptable to business men in Cincinnati, who had commenced transactions with business men South, and that soon after publishing the address of the first National Convention of the Anti-Slavery party of the United States, (which even the Cincinnati *Gazette* refused to publish), the paper was almost kicked out of the stores on the river tier of squares, and I made up my mind that I must leave the paper very soon or the time would not be long before it would leave me (and my wife and babies) without anything to eat. So I left it and went back to the *Gazette*."

While connected with the *Gazette*, Gallagher did much to encourage the literary effort in the Ohio Valley. It is interesting to learn that of the young writers whom he brought before the public, Murat Halstead is one. Mr. Halstead humorously says, "I was ruined by Mr. Gallagher; he accepted and published in the *Gazette* a story which I had written and carefully copied over three times."

Gallagher was twice elected President of the "Histori-

cal and Philosophical Society of Ohio." The sixty-second anniversary of the settlement of Ohio was commemorated by the society on April 8, 1850, when the president delivered a discourse full of information and vigorous thought, on the "Progress in the Northwest." This address was published by W. H. Derby, and copies of it are now much sought after.

The year 1850 marks the beginning of a new line of experiences for Mr. Gallagher. His experiments in literary journalism ended with the *Hesperian*. His ten years' editorial service on the *Gazette* came to a close, for reasons which we give in his own written words:

"While I was connected with Judge Wright and L. C. Turner, in the editorship of the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*. 'Tom' Corwin was appointed to the head of the Treasury department at Washington, and immediately offered me the place of private secretary, which I was urged to accept. This, I believe, was in the year 1850. I was what I considered *in advance* of both Wright and Turner, in relation to sundry questions of public and party nature, and on several occasions had felt it my duty to *commit* the paper, much to Wright's dissatisfaction. Finally a counting-room consultation was determined upon, and the L'Hommedieus were called into the editorial room. Stephen, the elder brother, sympathized with me from *principle*. Richard, the younger, agreed with Wright, as he said, from *policy*. 'What, Judge,' Stephen after a while inquired, 'is Gallagher's besetting sin in editorial matters?' 'Why,' promptly replied the Judge, without any exhibition of ill-nature, 'he is forever treading upon somebody's toes—and causing dissatisfaction, in the party as well as among business men.' Until this I had said nothing, but now I quickly responded, 'That, gentlemen, will never be a cause of complaint against Judge Wright—because he is forever *behind* the life and soul of his party, or at the best, *stumbling against somebody's heels*.' There was an instantaneous pause, when Stephen left and

beckoned me out of the room. I followed him, and much to his dissatisfaction, notified him that I should withdraw from the *Gazette* and accept Mr. Corwin's offer."

Soon after going to Washington and entering upon the discharge of his duties in the Treasury department, the United States Senate called upon the Secretary for a report upon the merchant marine, internal and coastwise. Reliable materials for such a report were not at hand, and Gallagher, having the reputation for ability to "hold his tongue," was directed to proceed to the various interior customs districts of the United States and collect information in regard to the revenue, and Edward D. Mansfield was appointed to proceed upon similar business to the districts upon the Atlantic seacoast. All the materials in, Gallagher drew up the report, which was much commended in the department.

This over, he was immediately dispatched to the city of New York for a million of dollars in gold, out of the sub-treasury, with which he was instructed to proceed to New Orleans, by sea, and to deposit with the United States treasury in that city. This was to be a *secret* removal of gold, required in the settlement of Mexican claims. The specie was quietly conveyed to the steamship *Georgia*, of the Howland and Aspinwall line, and placed in a chest under the floor of the ladies' cabin before any passengers were received on board. Besides Mr. Gallagher, the captain and the purser were the only souls on the ship who were aware that it bore golden freight. The voyage was in mid-winter; the weather proved stormy.

Key West was reached without accident, but within an hour after the voyage was resumed from that point the ship struck a rock. By skillful piloting, the rock was cleared; and, after a much longer than average trip, New Orleans was finally reached on a Sunday morning. As soon as the passengers were ashore, the gold was loaded in a wagon, and hauled to the office of the Assistant United States Treasurer, where Gallagher had it securely

placed under lock. With the key in his pocket, he went to the St. Charles Hotel and got breakfast. That over, he proceeded to the telegraph office, and sent the following dispatch: "Hon. Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury, Washington. All Right. W. D. Gallagher, New Orleans." Returning to Washington, Gallagher resumed his labors as private secretary. One day he found among the papers which it was his duty to examine a letter signed by some of his old Cincinnati friends, suggesting that an extra compensation of not less than \$1,000 should be given him as an appropriate acknowledgement of his general services to the Whig party and to the government. He showed the letter to another officer of the department, who was pleased with it, saying: "There is precedent enough for such extra compensation for similar services, and it is all right—but do you think the Secretary will consent to it." "I don't think he will ever have an opportunity to consent to it," Gallagher replied, and threw the letter into the grate and burned it up. "You ought not to have done that, Gallagher," remarked Mr. H—, "but—" "Perhaps not; but no personal friends of mine shall ever be tempted by other personal friends to do anything for me like that proposed." Within an hour Mr. Corwin came back to the department from a visit to the President. Mr. H—, good-naturedly, mentioned the matter to him, whereupon he sent, by messenger, a request that Gallagher would step into his room. When the latter presented himself, Corwin, with a very solemn expression upon his face, said, not angrily, but with sternness in his tone, "Gallagher, are you in the habit, as my private secretary, of destroying such of my private letters as you happen not to like?" "Governor, you have no idea that I could do anything of the sort. I destroyed one such letter a while ago, which concerned *me* more than it did you, and which, though meant as an act of friendship, ought not to have been written without my knowledge and consent. But I

suppose you know all about it." The expression on Corwin's face at once relaxed, as he continued, "I wonder if — and — really supposed I would use the public money in that way. If they did, they were most damnablely mistaken."

In the summer of 1852, Gallagher had an opportunity of going into the New York *Tribune* with Horace Greeley; and another of taking a one-half interest in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, then controlled by his friend M. D. Potter. He was advised and urged by such old anti-slavery friends as Gamaliel Bailey, Thomas H. Shreve, Noble Butler, and others, in Washington, Cincinnati, and Louisville to purchase half the stock of the Louisville *Daily Courier*, and to assume the editorship of that paper, which was to be a Southern organ for the advocacy of Corwin's nomination to the presidency. After long consideration, a decision was reached in favor of the *Courier*, and Gallagher returned to the West with his family, arriving at Louisville the first day of January, 1853. Nearly thirty years afterwards he wrote, "My connection with the *Courier* proved to be an unfortunate one. There was little sympathy with my editorial tone and teachings, either in Louisville or throughout Kentucky. I worked hard, and lost money. So in 1854 I sold my interest in the concern, and withdrew from the paper — having been stigmatized again and again, in Southern and Southwestern localities, as an abolition adventurer on the wrong side of the Ohio river, as former president of the underground railroad through Ohio for runaway slaves, etc., etc." Personal animosity was inflamed against the unpopular editor from his boldly attacking John J. Crittenden for consenting to defend Matt. Ward, who killed the young teacher, Butler, in his own school-room. Young Butler was a son of Noble Butler, one of Gallagher's dearest friends.

Even George D. Prentice (*et tu Brute!*) joined in the hue and cry against the *Courier* editor, partly because Gallagher was an Irish anti-know-nothing, but mainly on the

sole question of slavery. Prentice came up to Cincinnati and spent several days looking through the files of the *Gazette* to find in Gallagher's editorials abolition sentiments that might be used against him in Louisville. An article appeared in the *Journal* branding Gallagher with the crime of managing the underground railroad. This direct and personal attack roused the Celtic resentment of its subject, and he replied in the editorial columns of the *Courier*, over his signature, denying the allegation, and closed his card by denouncing the author of the calumny as "a scoundrel and liar." He had caught the spirit of personal journalism. The consequences were, if not dramatic, at least theatrical.

Upon a day the Louisville train brings to Pewee Valley, in Oldham county, where Mr. Gallagher had bought a little farm, a military gentleman of chivalrous appearance, who inquires the way from the station to Fern Rock Cottage. Finding the house, he knocks, and is admitted to the parlor by a colored servant. The master of the house is indisposed, is resting upon his bed, but clothed and in his right mind, and able to receive his visitor. The military gentleman will wait. To him presently enters William "Dignity" Gallagher, who, recognizing Colonel Churchill, cordially greets him, and asks his pleasure. The Colonel, with equal politeness, takes from his pocket a letter, which he hands to the convalescent editor. The missive is opened, and it proves to be a challenge from the proprietor of the Louisville *Journal*. Gallagher reads, tears the communication into a handful of bits, and throws the fragments on the floor. "Colonel Churchill, tell Mr. Prentice *that* is my answer to his foolish challenge."

Free once more, and now finally, from political journalism, Gallagher began to plant orchards, earning bread and butter for the time by editing an agricultural paper, the *Western Farmer's Journal*, and by writing for the *Columbian and Great West*, a Cincinnati paper, published by his

friend W. B. Shattuc. He also contributed poems to the *National Era*, edited by Dr. Bailey. With wonderful energy, he set about organizing industrial and educational institutions. He established a Kentucky Mechanics' Institute, a Kentucky State Agricultural Society, and was instrumental in forming the Southwestern Agricultural Society, of which he was made Secretary. In the way of useful literature, he wrote a prize essay on "Fruit Culture in the Ohio Valley;" and prepared materials for a social and statistical view of the Mississippi Valley.

Pewee Valley (at first named Pewee's Nest by Noble Butler, from the circumstance that when locating a building site there he wrote letters in a ruined cabin in which the pewees had built) is a beautiful village, on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, about sixteen miles east of Louisville. It became a chosen resort of people of culture and taste. There lived Edwin Bryant, who had been the Alcalde of San Francisco in the gold-seeking days; Noble Butler, the educator, resided there; the wealthy and accomplished Warfield family made their refined and hospitable home at Pewee Valley. Mr. Gallagher's house, a rambling frame cottage, covered with American ivy, was built in the midst of great forest trees—beech, oak, maple, poplar, and a newer growth of sassafras, dogwood, black-haw, and evergreens. Gray squirrels barked and skipped about the door-yard, and the cat bird, the red bird and the unceremonious blue jay came near the porches for their daily bread.

Mr. Gallagher greatly enjoyed the picturesque surroundings, and the congenial society of Pewee Valley. Being of a generous and friendly disposition he was liked by all who knew him. Western literary people were especially attached to him. His correspondence with that class was extensive. The following letter may stand as a fair representative of the many that were sent him. It was written from New York, nearly thirty years ago, by one, who,

at that time, was regarded as the coming man in literature, Mr. William Ross Wallace.

[*William Ross Wallace to W. D. Gallagher.*]

"N. Y., August 17, 1860.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND:—Your most kind and welcome letter came to hand several days since; and I have delayed an answer until I could read your lady friend's novel. This I have done with very great interest, as it is brimful of genius and a most peculiar, startlingly original power. Mrs. Warfield is certainly endowed with great talent and moral force. Her style is rich, yet chaste—full of a mature and lasting splendor. I should think that this Romance will place her, at a bound, at the head of our female authors—while she will compare favorably with the masculine. Of course, I will do all in my power in the way of newspaper notices; although the work needs no bolstering. I am very glad, my dear friend, that you like my poems—as it is pleasant to be admired by those whom we admire.

"Do send me a copy of your wood-thrush-note when it rings, at last, through the grand old woods. I hope to publish soon a long national poem, entitled "Chants in America"—devoted to our glorious scenery and deeds. I take a motto from yourself for the first part. Do you ever see Noble Butler? and Mr. Bryant? Mr. Fosdick told me that you were all neighbors. I have dear memories of both B's.

"I shall publish a notice of Mrs. W.'s great novel in a few days, and send you a copy of the paper containing it.

"Please let me know when you receive this, and believe me to be yours affectionately,

"WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

"Wm. D. Gallagher, Esq."

The novel here referred to was "The Household of Bouverie," published in 1860 by J. C. Derby, and by him described as a "wonderful romance."¹

Busied with the labors of peace, Gallagher little anticipated how soon he was to assume important duties of war

¹ Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers. J. C. Derby, 1884.

not in the capacity of a military man, but as a civil officer of the government, which he had served so faithfully before. A new President of the United States was to be chosen. He attended several political conventions—one State convention—was a delegate from Kentucky to the National convention at Chicago, in 1860, and was made somewhat conspicuous there by a response which he gave in reply to an address of welcome. Though his personal preference was for Mr. Chase, he went with the current for "Old Abe," working hard and voting for his nomination, against that of William H. Seward; and was one of those who carried the news to Springfield. In these and other public ways, he rendered himself so objectionable to the great mass of the people in his neighborhood, who were opposed to the election of Mr. Lincoln, that a public meeting was called and held within a mile of his house, for the purpose of giving him notice to leave the State. The situation was now dramatic in earnest, and might have become tragic, had it not been for the personal friendship of some of his political opposers. On the day of the threatened violence, Mr. Gallagher had intended to go from his home to Cincinnati. At Pewee Station, his friend, Mr. Haldeman, called out: "Gallagher, have you seen Dr. Bell?" "No." "He says they are going to mob you; there is a crowd at Beard's Station, and they swear you must leave the State." Dr. Bell came up and advised Gallagher to go on to Cincinnati. "No, gentlemen; if violence is meditated, my family are the first consideration, and home is the place for me. Mr. Crow"—this to the station keeper—"let it be known that I am at home." Haldeman forced into Gallagher's hand a navy revolver, though the poet had never fired a pistol in his life; another political enemy, but personal friend, gave him a big bowie-knife, and thus grimly over-armed he returned to Fern Rock, to the amazement of his wife and daughters.

The meeting at Beard's Station was a dangerous one, but Gallagher's rebel neighbors, with warm respect for the

man and chivalrous regard for fair play, demanded a hearing. A stalwart young mechanic took upon himself to champion the cause of free opinion. "I hate Gallagher's politics as much as any of you," said this gallant Kentuckian to the crowd, "but he has as good a right to his ideas as we have to ours, and"—with a string of terrible oaths—"whoever tries to lay a hand on him, or to give him an order to leave the State, must first pass over my dead body." The notice was not served; but after hours of talk, the assemblage contented itself with providing for the appointment of a "vigilance committee" for the neighborhood and dispersed. The excitement died away, and the Gallagher family lived in comparative safety; the stars and stripes floated above the roof of Fern Rock Cottage during the six gloomy years of the war.

When Mr. Chase was made Secretary of the Treasury, Gallagher was invited to accept the same position under him that he had held under Mr. Corwin. As the war went on, it became necessary for the government to appoint a special Collector of Customs for the ports of delivery in the interior, on the Mississippi river and elsewhere. Mr. Lincoln selected Gallagher for this important office. He was also made special commercial agent for the upper Mississippi Valley. By his vigilance, provisions and stores, to the value of millions, intended for the aid and comfort of the confederates, were intercepted and saved to the Union.

In the summer of 1863, he was appointed to the office of Surveyor of Customs in Louisville, and at the close of the war he was made Pension Agent. His public duties were all discharged punctually and with the strictest integrity. He made no money out of his country's misfortunes.

In the midst of official labor he found time and inspiration for the occasional use of his good goose-quill, (for he never uses a steel pen,) and he produced several stirring poems that did better work than many bullets. Chief of these were the patriotic ballad "Grandpa Nathan," and

the timely lyrics "Move on the Columns" and "The President's Gun," the last a poem on the emancipation proclamation.

The echoes of battle died away and Mr. Gallagher returned to his quiet farm, planted flowers, made rockeries, and planned new buildings. He resumed the useful pen, writing masterly communications for the "Louisville and Ohio Valley Manufacturer and Merchant." One of his articles is on "Cotton and Tobacco," another on "Our Commercial Exchanges." Perhaps his ablest statistical discourses is one published in pamphlet form in 1879, entitled "The Area of Subsistence, and its Natural Outlet to the Ocean and the World," a discussion of the resources of the great Southwest, and a counterpart to his address of 1850 on the Northwest.

In the reaction that followed the seeming prosperity stimulated by the war, Mr. Gallagher suffered financially, as did thousands of others. His property at Pewee Valley depreciated and he also lost money by unfortunate investments. Driven by necessity he earned his living by spending patient hours at the clerical desk as salaried secretary of the "Kentucky Land Company." In 1881, he was working, as he expressed it, "like a beaver," a statement that recalls his brother's complaint more than sixty years before, that Billy was toiling "like a nigger."

If ever a citizen was entitled to government appointment on the score of faithful public service, Gallagher was. Several of his political friends presented his claims to the President and the Secretary of the Interior, in 1871. His endorsers in Kentucky were such men as B. H. Bristow, G. C. Wharton and John M. Harlan. Hon. Charles P. James wrote to President Hayes from Washington, "I am able to say that his reputation, whether as an officer or business man, has been absolutely without imputation of wrong or neglect. He has always been known as a remarkably hard worker, and as a man of great moral courage." A letter written by General R. C. Schenck said

of Gallagher, "He can bring to the public service, high character, undoubted integrity, and great literary ability." On the back of this is written, with bold emphasis, "I concur in the foregoing recommendation. J. A. Garfield." It was Guiteau's bullet that prevented Gallagher from receiving an appointment from the man of Mentor.

It is painful to record that, in 1882, lured by promises and prodded by need, the proud poet went to Washington in the forlorn hope of employment by the government. On August 21, his seventy-fourth birthday, he wrote from Washington to his children at Louisville, the following brave verses, which, whatever be their literary shortcomings, have a merit of courage, patience, and resignation that is deeply touching. The lack of poetry in the lines is more than made up by the unconscious pathos:

"So you! so each and all who bear
My name!—so all my blood who share!
Come good, come ill—come weal, come woe—
No murmurs breathe, no faintings know!
If dark the day, or if you bask
In sunshine, still pursue your task.
If hard the labor, more the need
Of perseverance, trial, heed.
And if, when sets the cheerful sun
Your task shall not be wholly done,
Your hopes fulfilled, your wants supplied,
Your aspirations satisfied,
Feel not discomfited, depressed,
But calmly seek your needed rest,
And brace you for the further fray,
As soon as opes the coming day—
Remembering still, day out and in,
They win who work, they work who win."

Mrs. Emma Adamson Gallagher, the poet's wife, died at Pewee Valley, December 26, 1867, of heart disease. Suddenly stricken, she fell to the floor, and soon afterwards expired. She bore to her husband nine children, of whom one son, Edward, and three daughters, Jane, Emma and Fanny, are living.

Incidental mention is made, in the foregoing narrative, of Mr. Gallagher's ringing lyrics of reform, and his songs celebrating the days of the pioneer. These made their author famous half a century ago, and were praised in the magazines of Percival, Sprague, Brainard, and James F. Clarke. Fine and forcible as these eloquent and melodious pieces are, they are surpassed in poetical merit by the author's delicate lyrics descriptive of nature, such as his poems on "May" and on "August," and his lines to "The Cardinal Bird." These have been reprinted so often that they are accessible to any reader who has access to a general library. But there is a little poem, written by Mr. Gallagher in 1852, which has never appeared in any volume, and which has qualities of such exquisite sweetness and tenderness, and open-hearted spontaneity, that I quote it here:

THE BROWN THRUSH.

Brown-mantled bird that in the dim old forest
Which stands far-spreading in my own loved West,
At dewy eve and purple morn outpourest
The sweet, wild melodies that thrill thy breast,—
How like to thine were my young heart's libations,
Poured daily to the giver of all good!
How like our love and simple ministrations
At God's green altars in the deep and hallowed woods.

We trilled our morn and evening songs together,
And twittered 'neath green leaves at sultry noon;
We kept like silence in ungenial weather,
And never knew blue skies come back too soon.
We sang not for the world; we sang not even
For those we loved; we could not help but sing,—
There was such beauty in the earth and heaven,
Such music in our hearts, such joy in everything!

Wild warbler of the woods! I hear thee only
At intervals of weary seasons now;
Yet while through dusty streets I hasten, lonely
And sad at heart, with cares upon my brow,
There comes from the green aisle of the old forest
A gushing melody of other days—
And I again am with thee, where thou pourest
In gladness unto God the measure of thy praise.

The brief preface to Mr. Gallagher's "Miami Woods and Other Poems," published in Cincinnati in 1881, tells us that nearly the entire contents of the volume, excepting the miscellaneous poems, "appear in print now for the first time, though written at various periods between twenty-five and forty-two years ago." A subsequent volume, in which will be embraced "The Ancient People," "Ballads of the Border," "Civile Bellum," was promised, but it will probably never appear, for the first volume was not a financial success. The book, a handsome octavo of 264 pages, has its contents divided into five sections: I, Miami Woods; II, A Golden Wedding; III, In Exaltis; IV, Life Pictures; V, Miscellaneous.

"Miami Woods" is a long poem, divided into seven parts, corresponding to seven periods in which it was composed. The first part was written in 1839, the seventh in 1856. The poem is essentially descriptive, though it abounds in meditations and reflections on various subjects — political, social, moral, religious and philosophical. This didactic quality reminds the reader of Wordsworth's "Excursion."

Bryant has described many features of the American landscape with charming fidelity, yet with something of photographic coldness. Gallagher's verse paints the forest and field with Nature's own color, and glows with the warmth of human love and joy. "Miami Woods" is a sort of Thompson's "Seasons," adapted to the Ohio Valley. J. J. Piatt, in his poems, gives many touches of inimitable natural description, and his "Penciled Fly Leaves" is a gallery of delicate etchings of Western scenery. Mr. Gallagher has painted a true and quite complete panorama of the changing year in Western woods. It can be said, in the words of Pope, that he made the groves

"Live in description and look green in song."

Whether his book will be sought in the future for its

literary value or not, there can be no doubt that it will be recognized as the historical daguerreotype gallery of woodland scenery now forever passed away.

Pleasing as are the fine descriptive passages in this poem, they do not take hold of the heart, as does the simple, pathetic narrative, that runs, like an artery of life-blood, through the entire work. Never was sweeter or sadder story told in prose or verse. The mournful tenderness of it disarms criticism and brings tears to the eyes. It is the record of a father's love for a beautiful, sympathetic child—a daughter—who was first stricken with loss of reason, and then with death. To the memory of this darling child the volume is dedicated, most touchingly.

I give some passages from "Miami Woods," which, taken together, convey, though imperfectly, an idea of the poem, and especially of the narrative portion of it, to which attaches the greatest human interest:

"I am here—

The same, yet not the same, as when at first,
In mild, reflective mood, and artless verse,
I sang thy charms, and lifted from their midst
My heart to God. The same, yet not the same;
For on the dial-plate of Life, since then,
The shadow of my quickly rounding years
Has numbered twelve. And I have wandered far,
And much have seen of glory and of grief;
And much have known of pleasure and of pain;
And much have thought of human pomp and pride,
Which are the sorriest and baldest things
The indulgent eye of Heaven looks down upon."

* * * * *

"The same, yet not the same:

'Twas Autumn then in thy deep heart, which mourn'd
Its Summer glories, passing fast away;
But in my own, perpetual fountains played,
And to perpetual hopes that cluster there,
Gave brightest bloom. But Autumn now has come
To *my* bereaved heart, which inly moans
For withered hopes and blighted flowers of love,
While thine is full of gushing melodies,
And sunnier slopes, and green and blooming nooks.

* * * * *

"Far away

The alder-thicket robed in brightest bloom,
Is shining like a sunlit cloud at rest;
Nearer, the brier-roses load the air
With sweetness; and where yon half-hidden fence
And topping cabin mark the Pioneer's
First habitation in the wilderness.
The gay bignonia to the ridge-pole climbs,
The yellow willow spreads its generous shade
Around the cool spring's margin, and the old
And bent catalpa waves its fan-like leaves
And lifts its milk-white blossoms, beautiful!"

* * * * *

"A summer's day

She gathered flowers, and mock'd the birds, and blew
The time o' the day on greybeard dandelions.
When eve approached, we hither came, and paused,
Struck with the various beauty of the scene.
She sat beside me on this grassy knoll,
That looks out on it all, and gazed and gazed
Until the mind, so darkened now, was filled
With light from heaven, and love for earth, and joy
That in such pleasant places God had cast
Our lot. We lingered till the sun went down,
Then, silent as the shadows of the night
That gathered round us, took our homeward way.

* * * * *

"Oh, from this scene the bloom hath faded now;
And that which was the soul of it to me,
The glory and the grace, sits far away,
Beneath the shadow of a sorrow big
With all that can affright or overwhelm —
My heart would break — my stricken heart would break,
Could I not pour upon the murmuring winds,
When thus it swells, the burden of its woe,
In words that soothe, how sad so e'er they be.

* * * * *

"Now from the stormy Huron's broad expanse,
From Mackinaw and from the Michigan,
Whose billows beat upon the sounding shores
And lash the surging pines, come sweeping down
Ice-making blasts, and raging sheets of snow;
The heavens grow darker daily; bleakest winds
Shriek through the naked woods; the robber owl
Hoots from his rocking citadel all night.

* * * * *

"I sing no more the passion and the pain
That here o'ercame me; the triumphant joy
With which, when last I bade these scenes farewell,
I went upon my way, all starred with light,
I sing no more forever. The sweet hope,
That like an angel sat beside my heart
And sang away its sorrow then, hath since
Gone down in desolation. That which was
The central harmony of all this song,
The beautiful young life that to each swell
And cadence gave the spirit that it hath,
It is no more a bodily presence here,
It is no more of earth; and now the last
Faint strain of this prolonged and fitful lay,
Which but for her and for the love she bore
These scenes, had known no second touch, must die
Into a murmurous sound—a sigh—a breath."

W. H. VENABLE.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN OHIO.

On July 13th, 1854, the anniversary of the "Ordinance of 1787," there assembled, at Neil's New Hall, Columbus, Ohio, a large delegate convention, representing every town in the State, having for its purpose to fuse into one practical organization all political elements which opposed the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," and were ready to resist the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska.

A similar convention met, on the same day, at Indianapolis, in the State of Indiana, and its presiding officer was the Hon. Henry S. Lane.

The Ohio convention was a fair representation of the anti-slavery elements which belonged to the old Whig, Democratic, Free-Soil, and Liberty parties. Among the delegates were those who had been the special friends of Birney and John Van Buren, as well as those who took part in the legislative action of 1848-9, which first placed Mr. Chase in the United States Senate.

Benjamin F. Leiter, Esq., Democrat, who, as a member of the Legislature in 1848-9, had figured prominently at the opening of that session, was elected Chairman of the convention, and J. H. Baker, Esq., Whig, with J. H. Herrick, Esq., Free-Soil, were made Secretaries.

The following Committee on Resolutions were selected for the twenty-one Congressional districts:

First district, Benjamin Eggleston; 2d district, James Elliott; 3d district, David Heaton; 4th district, T. Cunningham; 5th district, Dr. J. J. Paul; 6th district, Wm. Allison; 7th district, W. H. P. Denny; 8th district, J. Corvin; 9th district, Homer Elliott; 10th district, E. Nye; 11th district, Joshua R. Giddings; 12 district, Henry B. Carrington; 13th district, Joseph Root; 14th district, Norton S. Townshend; 15th district, Joseph W. Vanze;

16th district, Davis Green; 17th district, John Davenport; 18th district, E. N. Sill; 19th district, Rufus P. Spaulding; 20th district, George F. Brown; 21st district, Ephraim H. Eckley.

This committee assembled at Room 18 of the American Hotel, and unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The positive prohibition of slavery in the territory to the north and west of Missouri, imposed by Congress, in the year 1820, at the instance of Southern statesmen, and as an equivalent for the admission of Missouri as a State without that restriction, has been removed by the passage of the bill to establish territorial governments in Nebraska and Kansas; and,

WHEREAS, It becomes important to ascertain if the popular mind in regard to slavery has retrograded in Ohio during the last thirty-four years, notwithstanding the benign influence of the Ordinance of 1787, which made them perpetually free, and which has been the principal means of our unexampled prosperity and happiness; therefore,

Resolved, First, that we hail with gladness and gratitude the anniversary of that glorious day when the Congress of the confederacy imposed upon the Northwest Territory that ordinance of freedom which has given character and confidence to five great States, now containing five million of freemen, but not one slave.

Resolved, Second, that in humble imitation of the virtue and patriotism which inspired our fathers in the enactment of that ordinance, we solemnly renew this day our covenant vows to resist the spread of slavery, under whatever shape or color it may be attempted.

Resolved, Third, that to this end we will labor assiduously to render inoperative and void that portion of "The Kansas and Nebraska Bill" which abolishes freedom in the territories withdrawn from the influences of slavery

by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and that we will oppose by every lawful and constitutional means every further increase of slave-territory, or slave States, in this "Republican Confederacy."

Resolved, Fourth, that in order that public sentiment on this great subject may be concentrated and developed in the State of Ohio, at the earliest possible period, we will proceed to place in nomination suitable candidates for the Supreme Bench and Board of Public Works, and invite to their support, at the approaching election, the votes of all good citizens, without reference to parties.

Resolved, Fifth, that we concur in the recommendation of the people of Michigan, that there be called a general convention of the free States, and such of the slave-holding States, or portions thereof, as may desire to be there represented, with the view of the adoption of other and more effective measures, in resistance of the encroachments of slavery, and that a committee of five persons be appointed to correspond and co-operate with our friends in other States on this subject.

Resolved, Sixth, that a committee be appointed by this convention, as a *pro tem.* State Central Committee, with power to call another convention of the friends of liberty, and to take other measures that may become necessary to perfect the declared designs of this convention.

Resolved, Seventh, that the soil of Nebraska and Kansas shall be appropriated for free homes, for free men."

During the noon recess of the convention, and before the committee on resolutions had fully completed their work, Hon. Wm. Dennison, Jr., handed to his law partner, Mr. Carrington, who was on the committee from the Columbus district, a Detroit paper, stating that at a meeting held in that city the name "Republican" had been suggested for the "Fusion party." Mr. Giddings and Messrs. Townshend, Root and Paul opposed the selection of any distinctive name, as premature, until at least one

State election should determine whether there was a genuine fusion of all the anti-slavery elements of the old parties, or simply a device of the two old parties to swallow up the original Free-Soilers. The expression "Republican Confederacy," in the third resolution, took shape from this discussion.

The resolutions, as above reported, were adopted by the convention, and the committee "To correspond with the committee of other states on the subject of a National Convention," consisted of the following persons, viz: Henry B. Carrington, of Columbus, chairman, and J. H. Baker, of Chillicothe, Whigs; Joseph R. Swan, of Columbus, and Rufus K. Spaulding, of Cleveland, Democrats; Dr. J. B. Coulter, of Columbus, Free-Soil and Liberty party representative. Messrs. Carrington and Swan were known as belonging to the anti-slavery wings of their respective parties, so that all shades of political interest appeared on the committee.

During the closing hours of the Convention, the following telegram was received from Hon. Henry S. Lane, then presiding over the Indiana Convention: "The Indianapolis Convention repudiates the Nebraska swindle and has organized for a victorious contest."

The Ohio Convention nominated Judge Joseph R. Swan, Free-Soil Democrat, for Supreme Judge, and he was elected by a majority of more than one hundred thousand. Henry S. Lane presided, subsequently, and Wm. Dennison, Jr., was a Vice-President, at the Philadelphia Convention, which placed the first National Republican ticket in the field.

Nearly all of the actors who took part in that Convention have passed away, Judge Spaulding reaching the age of eighty-four. More than seven-eighths of the parties with whom the special committee had correspondence are no longer among the living. The notes, interlined by Mr. Giddings, at Room number 18, of the American Hotel, have become fragmentary and almost illegible, but the

record may have some value as a souvenir of issues whose consequences were to be the completer unity and the more perfect fraternity of the citizens of this great Republic.

HENRY B. CARRINGTON.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING HELD
AT MARIETTA, APRIL 5TH AND 6TH, 1888, IN
CONNECTION WITH THE CENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION OF THE SETTLE-
MENT OF THE NORTHWEST
TERRITORY.

THURSDAY, April 5, 1888.

The Society was called to order in public session in the City Hall of Marietta at 7:30 p. m., by F. C. SESSIONS, President.

Prayer was offered by DR. JOSEPH TUTTLE, after which the President delivered the annual address. [This address was published in the QUARTERLY, Volume II, page 145.]

After music by the orchestra, the President introduced JUDGE JOSEPH COX, of Cincinnati, who addressed the Society on "The Building of the State." [This address was printed in full in the QUARTERLY, Volume II, page 150.] At the conclusion of the address the Society adjourned until Friday morning at 9:30.

FRIDAY, April 6, 1888.

Pursuant to adjournment the Society convened in the City Hall at 9:30 o'clock.

The minutes of the last annual meeting and of subsequent meetings were read and approved.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer for the current year were submitted and approved. [These reports were published in the QUARTERLY, Volume I, page 386.]

WM. P. CUTLER, for the standing Committee on Resolutions, submitted an elaborate report, pertaining to the memorial structure at Marietta and recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this Society fully recognizes the value and importance of the historic incidents that preceded and led to the first organized and permanent settlement of the Northwest Territory, begun at Marietta, April 7, 1788.

Resolved, That the eminent and patriotic services of the Congress composed of representatives from the original thirteen States, in maintaining the struggle against their powerful enemy, in establishing the independence of their country, in securing quiet possession of the Mississippi valley, and in giving to it the ordinances for disposing of lands and governing its inhabitants, demand from this generation a recognition that will hand their names and services down to future generations in an instructive and monumental form.

Resolved, That a like recognition is due to the Continental army, by whose valor and endurance these results were achieved.

Resolved, That this Society will continue to encourage the erection of a monumental structure at Marietta, and to this end will co-operate with the Marietta Centennial Monument Association in their efforts to procure pecuniary aid.

The report and the resolutions were on motion unanimously adopted. [This valuable report and accompanying documents were published in the *QUARTERLY*, Vol II, page 222.]

The report of the Editorial Committee was submitted by the Chairman, Professor GEO. W. KNIGHT, and was, on motion, referred to the Executive Committee.

On motion, the President appointed A. A. GRAHAM, GEO. W. KNIGHT and — SMITH a committee to nominate five trustees for the term of three years.

The question, including the desirability and feasibility of the Society's obtaining control and management of the State Library, was introduced. After considerable discussion a committee was, on motion, appointed to examine the subject and take such steps as might seem wisest to bring it to the attention of the General Assembly. The Committee was constituted as follows: Dr. H. A. THOMPSON, F. C. SESSIONS, Hon. R. B. HAYES, Judge M. D. FOLLETT, General R. BRINKERHOFF.

Professor F. W. PUTNAM, Curator of the Peabody Museum, was introduced, and made a few instructive remarks upon Ohio archæology.

The Society then took a recess until 2 o'clock.

The Society re-assembled in the City Hall at 2 o'clock.

The committee on nominations reported the following names for

TRUSTEES FOR THREE YEARS.

F. C. SESSIONS, Columbus; R. B. HAYES, Fremont;
R. BRINKERHOFF, Mansfield; J. G. DOREN, Dayton;
S. C. DERBY, Columbus.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for these persons, which was done, and they were duly elected.

On motion of Professor GEO. W. KNIGHT, HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, of San Francisco, was elected an honorary member of the Society. Also, on motion of Dr. JOHN EATON, Professor FREDERICK W. PUTNAM was elected an honorary member.

On motion of E. C. DAWES, the President was instructed to telegraph Dr. I. W. ANDREWS, in the name and on behalf of this Society, assurance of its sympathy with him in his illness, which prevents his attendance with us on this occasion. [A copy of the telegram and of the reply of Dr. Andrews was printed in the *QUARTERLY*, Volume II, page 234.]

The President then introduced WM. M. FARRAR, of Cambridge, Ohio, who delivered an address on the subject "Why is Ohio called the Buckeye State?" [This address was published in the *QUARTERLY*, Volume II, page 174.]

At the conclusion of this address, President Sessions said:

"Ohio has many distinguished men in all branches of the government. When I was a clerk in a store in Columbus I met a man who was studying law. He afterwards became a distinguished lawyer; after that a distinguished General in our army, and I met him several

times in the South. Later he became the President of the United States, and is here with us to-day. I have the pleasure of introducing to you ex-President HAYES."

REMARKS OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"I warned the Senator from Massachusetts, who is sitting by my side, when I heard the President of the meeting speaking of impromptu speeches, that he and I were in great danger. He said it was 'bad enough to be called the day after you have made your regular speech, but still worse to be called on the day before.'

"Naturally, I suppose the object of this is simply to make our friends acquainted with the strangers who have gathered to celebrate with them this interesting occasion. I do not happen to fall in that category, and I hardly need an introduction to the people in this hall. I think I spoke perhaps in the first meeting in this interest in this hall, and have been here frequently since. I am very glad to join with you in this Centennial celebration. It seems to me the event we celebrate is of a character that demands attention from all, and for which we have time enough. I believe in as many celebrations as we can give, and I hope to attend yet more of them.

"Our friends east of the mountains began with their Centennial in 1875; it is of a National character. Concord and Lexington and Bunker Hill were thus celebrated, and afterwards came the great celebration at Philadelphia in 1876. A single instance in connection with that, and I will allow some other gentleman the privilege of standing where I now stand.

"The orator appointed for the Fourth of July, 1876, was a gentleman very well known throughout the country. His friends at the bar, his professional friends, professional brethren, were talking to him about the speech he was to make at Philadelphia. They said to him: 'Well, we have been considering how long you will probably speak. We have been rather sympathizing with the audience that you are to have. We know that in the Beecher case you spoke—I am not sure of the number of days, but I think it was—eight days; and in the case of the impeachment of Andy Johnson you stretched it out to thirteen days. Now you have to speak for all the events of a hundred years. How long will it be?'

"The gentleman replied: 'Well, sir, I have been puzzled about that myself, and I have finally found a point at which my speech must end, and shall limit it to that.'

" 'Ah, the idea of your limiting a speech; we supposed you never limited a speech.'

" 'Oh, yes, I have limited myself on this occasion. I take it for granted that, as we celebrate the first century of the existence of our country, those to come after us will celebrate the second celebration. I must end my speech in time to let the man who succeeds me begin for the second century.' "

President SESSIONS then said:

"One hundred years ago, of the forty-eight who came floating down the Ohio River seeking the shores of the Muskingum, were a number from the shores of Massachusetts who became distinguished citizens of Ohio. We have to-day with us a Senator from Massachusetts—Senator HOAR."

REMARKS OF SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR.

I would like to say, ladies and gentlemen, while it does not become me to find fault with any of the arrangements on this occasion, yet it seems to me your President is like the small boy whose mother gives him a dinner to take to school and then makes him eat it in the morning. I had supposed what I had to say, and the speech of your beloved and distinguished fellow-citizen, President Hayes, were to be reserved for to-morrow. It gives me great satisfaction, however, thus early to make known to you the deep interest which the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have in this interesting occasion. We feel quite proud of our historical achievements in Massachusetts, and there is nothing which that commonwealth has ever done for humanity or for human liberty, in which she takes a greater pride than the share which she had in the founding of Ohio.

"There are probably no two States in the country, probably no two communities on the face of the earth, which are more alike in opinion, in character and in history, than these two great commonwealths. Ohio herself can not be better described than by saying of her that she is an enlarged and glorified Massachusetts. Her people, although absent in body, most of them will be here to-

morrow at your great anniversary, with most intense spiritual presence. They will eagerly read what shall be said, and what shall be done here, with the prayer and the confident hope that this great and illustrious State may be now entering upon another century which shall be crowded with illustrious deeds, with great names, with honorable contributions to the history and welfare of the country, as has been the century which is now closed."

At the conclusion of Senator HOAR'S remarks, the President introduced DAVID FISHER, of Michigan, a grandson of Commodore Whipple. Mr. FISHER read a short biographical sketch of Commodore Abraham Whipple. [This sketch was printed in the *QUARTERLY*, Volume II, page 180.] At its conclusion, Professor F. W. PUTNAM was introduced and gave a most interesting description of the Serpent Mound, lately purchased by the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, of Cambridge, Mass.

The Society then adjourned until 7:30 P. M. At the conclusion of the afternoon exercises the members of the Society and invited guests were, under escort of the Marietta members and by their courtesies, driven in carriages to the chief points of archæological and historical interest in and around the city.

FRIDAY EVENING, April 6, 1888.

The Society convened at 7:30, with R. BRINKERHOFF, Vice President, in the chair.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were extended to the people of Marietta for their kindness, attention and hospitality to the members in attendance upon this meeting.

Hon. WM. HENRY SMITH, of New York, then delivered an address entitled "A Familiar Talk About Monarchists and Jacobins." [This address was published in the *QUARTERLY*, Volume II, page 187.]

The Society, upon motion, adjourned.

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Board of Trustees met Friday evening, April 6, and was called to order by the Vice-President, General R. BRINKERHOFF.

The election of officers being in order, the following were chosen

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President—F. C. SESSIONS, Columbus.

First Vice-President—R. BRINKERHOFF, Mansfield.

Second Vice-President—WM. E. MOORE, Columbus.

Secretary and Librarian—A. A. GRAHAM, Columbus.

Treasurer—S. S. RICKLY, Columbus.

The following standing committee was appointed:

Executive Committee—F. C. SESSIONS, R. BRINKERHOFF, N. S. TOWNSHEND, WM. E. MOORE, H. A. THOMPSON, S. C. DERBY.

This committee was empowered to appoint such other committees as may be necessary.

After this the Board adjourned.

COLUMBUS, April 12, 1888.

The Society met in the Senate Chamber, in the State House, and was called to order by President SESSIONS, who, after a few remarks concerning the work of the Society, and the annual meeting held at Marietta, in connection with the Centennial celebration, introduced Professor FREDERICK W. PUTNAM, Curator of the Peabody Museum, who addressed the Society on "Mound Exploration in the Ohio Valley." The address was illustrated by stereopticon views and occupied about two hours in delivery, giving largely the results of the Professor's labors in this part of the country. The address was of such a nature that an abstract cannot well be given, as much of its interest lay in the illustrative views presented.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Dr. EDWARD ORTON, on behalf the University Club of Columbus, Dr. H. A.

THOMPSON, on behalf of this Society, Hon. CHARLES TOWNSEND, on behalf of the Senate, and Hon. C. L. POORMAN, on behalf of the House of Representatives, made brief addresses. The Secretary then announced that no further meetings would be held until fall.

After adjournment, a reception was given Professor PUTNAM by this Society, the University Club and the General Assembly.

MARIETTA, June 26, 1888.

A special memorial meeting in honor of the late Dr. Israel W. Andrews, was held at the Congregational Church in Marietta, at 2:30 P. M., June 26, 1888. The meeting was held under the joint auspices of this Society, the officers of Marietta College, and the Marietta College Club of Cincinnati. In the absence of President F. C. SESSIONS, DOUGLASS PUTNAM, of the Board of Trustees of this Society, presided.

A memorial address upon Israel Ward Andrews, D. D., LL. D., which had been prepared at the request of the Society, was read by Hon. WILLIAM P. CUTLER. [This address appears in full in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*.]

Addresses were also presented on behalf of Marietta College and the Marietta College Club, of Cincinnati.

F. C. SESSIONS,
President.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

THE OHIO BOUNDARY, OR THE ERIE WAR.¹

WHEN the great Ordinance of 1787 was passed by Congress it was agreed by all the States present that six of the articles, known as the articles of compact, should not be repealed except by the joint consent of Congress and the States concerned. The fifth of these "irrevocable articles" provided that not less than three nor more than five States should be formed out of the region of country known as the Northwest Territory. In case the division was into three States, it was to be made by north and south lines from points named in the articles; if it should be divided into four or five, they were to be separated by the same lines running north and south, and up to an east and west line through the extreme south point of Lake Michigan.

Thus it was left to the discretion of Congress whether the territory north of this line should form one or two States and that south two or three. But the boundary line in either case was definitely fixed; especially was this true of the line separating the northern from the southern tier of States. It was imperatively stated that an east and west line, running from the extreme south point of Lake Michigan, should separate these two sections. According to the very nature of the compact, Congress could not change these boundary lines at will.

The right of the Congress of the Confederation, so to bind its successors, may, from a standpoint of justice and right, be denied, but from a legal point of view it can not surely be questioned, when we take into consideration the fact that the power of the colonial and Continental Congresses depended largely, if not solely, on the assump-

¹This paper is a part of a formal thesis prepared two years since, when its writer, then a student in Ohio State University, was a member of the *seminar* established there for advanced and special investigation of American historical questions.

tions of Congress, backed up by the acquiescence of the people.

That the people consented to this division of the territory is evident from the fact that no question was ever raised concerning the rights and intentions of Congress in so decreeing, until the people of Ohio, on the application of Michigan for admission as a State, claimed that there must have been a misunderstanding by Congress, and that it was never intended that this northern boundary line should lie so far south. They claimed that it was the intention of Congress to give the whole southern shore of Lake Erie to Ohio, and that the first maps of the country were incorrect and had thus misled Congress concerning the southern point of Lake Michigan; forgetting that if there had been any mistake concerning the southern point of Lake Michigan, no one had ever before discovered it, or even hinted it, and also that Michigan had been organized as a territory having the old boundary line laid down by the ordinance, without a murmur or complaint from any of her sister States, and lastly, that Ohio herself had organized a State government *and excluded therefrom the county of Wayne*, which was claimed at that time to lie north of her boundary line.

It is true, however, that when, on the 30th of April, 1802, an act was passed authorizing the people of that part of the Northwest Territory lying east of Indiana and south of the line running east from the most southerly point of Lake Michigan, to adopt a constitution, the right was reserved by Congress either to make all north of that line into a separate State or to annex it to Ohio. That Congress had a right to legislate, as the latter case would require, has been emphatically denied by some of our most eminent legal authorities. However, the difficulty of making such a radical change in one of the sacred articles of compact, was obviated by the fact that Congress never chose to exercise her prerogative in annexing this territory to Ohio. Yet the act of Congress assuming

the power to annex this territory to Ohio is indicative of the fact that she, like England of old, claimed the right, if she only chose to exercise it, to set aside the old boundary lines of the ordinance.

That Congress did not originally intend to grant this land to Ohio, in violation of the compact, seems evident from the fact that, although the people of Ohio had petitioned two successive sessions of Congress to grant to her the now much disputed territory, yet Congress refused to entertain any idea of so legislating, taking no note of such requests.

That Michigan was organized as a Territory, assuming, as she did, the boundaries of the ordinance, without even the slightest objection from the senators or the representatives of Ohio, is additional proof that the people of Ohio either recognized this as the boundary line, or that the sentiment in Congress was so overwhelmingly against any change that Ohio's servants dared not object.

In the light of these facts it seems strange that Governor Lucas, of Ohio, should recommend to the Legislature of that State to concert measures for the seizure and occupation of this disputed territory, and yet such was the case. He gave as his reasons for such aggressive measures (1.) The intention of the Congress of 1787 to follow the supposed line which was further north than the real one; (2.) The action of the State Constitutional Convention; (3.) The preference of the people within the district for the government of Ohio.

The Legislature was not slow to follow out the plans suggested by their chief executive. "They immediately passed a series of acts and resolutions asserting jurisdiction over the land in question and declaring that measures should be taken by all departments of the State government to enforce these acts." Nor was this the whole attempt made by the government of Ohio to reclaim what she would fain make herself believe justly belonged to her. Governor Lucas, on the alert to obtain possession.

of this much-coveted territory, called an extra session of the General Assembly. Himself assuming the aggressive, he ordered the commissioners, appointed by him for the purpose, to meet him at Perrysburg, stating his intention to run the boundary line, and thus in a manner peculiar to himself settle this dispute, which Congress itself seemed unwilling to handle. Again the Legislature came to his rescue and stimulated his exertions by voting an appropriation of \$300,000, with which to carry out his plans.

It is not surprising that these violent measures called out a keen retort from Michigan, nor was she tardy in challenging the determined efforts of Ohio's governor to strip her of her fair territory. Immediately after Governor Lucas's first message to the General Assembly recommending to them the seizure of the disputed tract, the Legislature of Michigan passed a series of acts making it a criminal offense for any one to accept or exercise any office in the disputed tract, except by the authority of the United States or of Michigan. When the tidings reached the capital of Michigan that Governor Lucas, of Ohio, was taking active measures to occupy this territory, Governor Mason, of Michigan, at once ordered his adjutant-general to hold himself in readiness for any invasion from Ohio, and the Legislature vied with that of Ohio in the readiness with which it placed money and men at the disposal of its governor.

Thus hostilities began to assume a serious aspect, when the territorial authorities presented the matter to the Attorney-General of the United States, Benjamin F. Butler. He regarded the claims of Michigan to the territory as the better of the two, and was strengthened in this opinion by the President and members of the cabinet. But the good people of Ohio were very firm in their determination to possess this territory, and the Attorney-General hoped the matter might be brought to an amicable settlement by a compromise. Accordingly two commissioners, Rush and Howard, were sent out to inquire into the trouble and to

report the condition of affairs to the Attorney-General. Meanwhile the militia of Michigan had marched to the scene of action, but to their disgust and chagrin they found no enemy — no Ohio troops — there to oppose them. They had made great preparation and military display all on account of a report, that had reached them, that Governor Lucas purposed setting up a court at Toledo for the regulation and disposal of this disputed tract. Thus the fire which had animated the hearts of the patriotic sons of Michigan was forced to consume their own ambition, and they marched back sullenly from the imaginary field of glory, leaving no bones to bleach in the sun, save those of the noted horse, the sole hero and martyr of the Erie war.

All this display of chivalry and heroism by the contending parties had little to do with settling the real question at issue, except, perhaps, to bring about the immediate consideration of it by Congress. Congress resolved to put an end to this quarrel between two unruly members of the Union by forcing them to a compromise. This was easily brought about, from the fact that Michigan was seeking admission as a State, and Congress would not admit her until she would renounce all her claims to the disputed territory.

The President and the Democratic party were especially anxious to settle the question without antagonizing Ohio, as a Presidential election was near, and the electoral votes of Ohio were wanted.

On the whole, we are bound to regard the compromise that resulted as the most happy arrangement that could have been made, since both parties are vastly better provided for than if Michigan's rights had been enforced by Congress. Michigan, by the grant of the upper peninsula, which she received as compensation for her concessions, obtained her great mineral wealth, and Ohio, by the annexation of the extensive tract of fertile land which she claimed, was thereby greatly enriched.

L. G. ADDISON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

DR. I. W. ANDREWS.—At the annual meeting of the Ohio Teachers' Association, held at Sandusky, June 28, 1888, memorial exercises occurred in honor of the late Israel W. Andrews. Professor M. R. Andrews read a memorial sketch. In it he paid tribute in the highest terms to the many virtues of the deceased scholar and educator. His conservative but persistent and hopeful nature; his accuracy and painstaking care as a student and instructor; his unswerving fidelity to every trust; his consistent and admirable Christian character; his loyal devotion to duty, were all dwelt upon in fitting terms. Especially, as was natural in an address before the State Teachers' Association, the speaker dwelt at length upon Dr. Andrews's services to the cause of education in Ohio, and we reproduce from the *Educational Monthly* the following extract from the address:

"The younger teachers of Ohio do not know how closely he is identified with the early history of our common schools. In February, 1851, this Association, in a meeting at Columbus, appointed him, with six others, Lorin Andrews, R. F. Humiston, D. F. DeWolf, James Campbell, Darius Lyman, Jr., and Charles S. Royce, to aid in the organization of county institutes, and through the southern and eastern parts of the State he took an active part in the educational campaign that ensued.

"He was President of this Association at Steubenville in 1857, and long served on the Executive Committee; he also delivered the annual address at Put-in-Bay in 1877. He was a member of the State Board of Examiners from 1866 to 1871.

"As associate editor of the *Ohio Journal of Education*, in the first six volumes (1852-7), and afterwards as contributor to its successor, the *Educational Monthly*, he showed his lively interest in elementary education. In 1852, he

wrote of "The Union School System" and warned officers and teachers against too implicit reliance upon the excellence of any system, thus by thirty years anticipating a favorite dogma of the apostles of the New Education. Among the subjects discussed by him in this and subsequent years are, "Images in Concave Mirrors," "Relation of Schools and Colleges," "Schools of Lowell," "Marietta Public Schools," "College Education in England and America," "Popular Education in Great Britain," "The Eye and the Ear in Elementary Education," "The Teacher's Duty to Himself," "Elementary Classical Study," "A Course of Study for High Schools," "Pronouncing Dictionaries," "The Self-Reporting System," "Greek Preparation for College," "Elementary Arithmetic," "Law," "The Muskingum Academy" (torn down in 1887), "When was Ohio Admitted into the Union?" (1803), and one of his last contributions, suggested by a visit to the primary schools of Steubenville, was "Elementary Instruction."

"He was an active member at the first meeting of the National Teachers' Association, and afterwards became one of the National Council of Education."

At the conclusion of the address, appropriate remarks, showing the universal esteem and love with which Dr. Andrews was regarded by the teachers of Ohio, were made by Dr. E. E. White, Professor W. H. Mitchell, Col. D. F. De Wolf, Dr. R. W. Stevenson and Dr. E. T. Tappan. The following resolution was also adopted:

Resolved, That while we bow reverently to the Divine Will, as expressed in the removal from our fellowship of the late Dr. I. W. Andrews, we yet feel that our Association has met with a loss which is irreparable, and that only as we follow his example of unselfish and constant work for the up-building of the race, are we living up to our God-given opportunities and privileges.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of this Association, which was to have been

held in Columbus during the first week of the present month, it was found necessary to postpone, on account of the impossibility of securing suitable accommodations at a time when the city was crowded with members of the Grand Army of the Republic and other strangers in attendance upon the Centennial Exposition. The meeting will be held in Washington, D. C., during the last week of December, and one whole day during the meeting will be devoted to papers and discussions of topics connected with the history of the Northwest.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN OHIO.—During the past year great interest has been shown in the study of Ohio archæology and history by those who are not ordinarily historical students. Owing to the various celebrations of Ohio's centennial year, old and young have shown a desire to know more about her history. In many schools in the State last winter and spring, special attention was given to the subject, and doubtless much more would have been devoted to it had there existed any complete, brief history of the State. Since then one or two have appeared and more are announced. While these histories will add much to the general knowledge of our growth as a State, much that might have been written has been lost by the careless destruction of material bearing upon various important events. We have before referred to this matter, but cannot refrain from again urging the importance of the preservation of all old manuscripts, documents, books, and papers bearing in any way upon the growth of the State. The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society will be glad to receive, catalogue, and preserve anything of this nature that may be sent to it, and thus assist future students and historians in their search for facts.

BOOK NOTES.

THE OLD NORTHWEST: with a View of the Thirteen Colonies as Constituted by Royal Charters. By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D. New York: Townsend Mac Coun. 1888.

The importance of the Northwest Territory has been fully emphasized during the present year by centennial celebrations of various kinds, beginning with that at Marietta, in April last, of which the full proceedings were published in the last issue of the *QUARTERLY*. While many parts of the history of this region have been fully investigated by students, and the results given to the world, Dr. Hinsdale's book is the first that has attempted to present a complete and connected sketch of the beginnings of the whole Northwest and its organization into states. In his preface Dr. Hinsdale says: "Save New England alone, there is no section of the United States embracing several states that is so distinct an historical unit . . . as the Old Northwest. To portray those features of this region that make it an historical unit is the central purpose of this book."

The author's conception is a good one, and in carrying it out he has produced a most valuable work. After treating of the French discovery and colonization of the Northwest and its surrender by the French to the English in 1763, the author paves the way for a discussion of the conflicting colonial claims to the territory, by two excellent chapters upon the charter grants of the old thirteen colonies. The discussion of the western land policy of the British from 1763 to 1775, which follows, was previously printed in substantially the same form in the *QUARTERLY* of last December, with Dr. Hinsdale's permission.

The discussion of the Northwestern land-claims and cessions is full and accurate, and that of the ordinances of 1785 and 1787, while containing little that has not been printed before is clearly and convincingly stated. The division of the territory into states, the organization of those states and a chapter on the progress of the territory during the first century, complete a work the value of which can hardly be overestimated.

Dr. Hinsdale has been a careful investigator and the value of the work has been greatly increased by the abundant references given. We notice however, that in several instances he gives as his authorities works which are themselves not in any sense "original sources," when a reference to the original authority or document would have been equally easy and more scholarly. Numerous extracts from important but scarce documents are a valuable feature for close readers and students. As a whole the work will take its rank as an accurate, scholarly, and comprehensive discussion of the discovery, organization and development of the Northwest.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Archæology of Ohio. By M. C. Read. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society.

The Identification of The Society of the Cincinnati with the Settlement of the Northwest Territory. By Mrs. L. A. Alderman. Pamphlet, pp. 26. Marietta, Ohio, 1888.

American Journal of Archæology, June, 1888. Boston: Ginn & Co.

OHIO

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NO. 3.

THE RIGHT OF DISCOVERY.

"ONE of the most interesting subjects in the whole history of law."—
Dr. Francis Lieber, *Miscellaneous Writings*, II, 26.

THE great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to two series of remarkable changes in the relations of the principal nations of Western Europe. First, those nations were brought into direct contact with the natives of the newly discovered lands, east and west, all of whom were heathen, a vast number of whom were savages, and none of whom, to appropriate a figure of Professor Seeley's, were more able to resist their discoverers than a herd of antelopes is able to resist a party of hunters. "The contact which Columbus established," says Professor Seeley, "being the most strange and violent which ever took place between two parts of the human family, led to a fierce struggle, and furnished one of the most terrible pages to the annals of the world."¹ This, however, is far from all. The contact established with the natives of Africa, of Asia, and of the islands of the sea also led to fierce struggles and contributed other terrible pages to the same annals. But, secondly, the contact established with

¹ *The Expansion of England*, 44. Boston, 1884.

the new lands brought the Western powers into new and strange relations with one another; relations involving changes moral, social, industrial, political, legal, and religious that can hardly be overestimated.

The first thing that the maritime powers did when the contact began, was to appropriate the new countries, lands, and peoples to their own uses. This was a foregone conclusion. The only open questions at any time following discovery were, who should make the appropriations, and the manner in which they should be made. These questions, but more especially the second one, it is proposed to investigate.

The first fact to strike the mind as we enter upon this investigation is, that the appropriations were made and justified on a new principle. Mr. Wheaton observes that nearly all the nations of Europe hold their European territory by a title which "was originally derived from conquest, which has been subsequently confirmed by long possession and international compacts, to which all the European States have successively become parts." The meaning of this is, that titles which began in violence have been confirmed and strengthened, and in a sense purged, by that form of presumption arising from lapse of time which the text-writers call prescription. "The constant and approved practice of nations shows," says Mr. Wheaton, "that the uninterrupted possession of territory, or other property, for a certain length of time, by one state, excludes the claims of every other; in the same manner as, by the law of nature and the municipal code of every civilized nation, a similar possession by an individual excludes the claim of every other person to the article of property in question." "This rule," he proceeds, "is founded upon the supposition, confirmed by constant experience, that every person will naturally seek to enjoy that which belongs to him; and the inference fairly to be drawn from his silence and neglect, of

the original defect of his title, or his intention to relinquish it."¹ Such is the law of the civilized world in the nineteenth century, and such it was in the fifteenth. Then, as now, the powers rested on prescription in the first place; they pointed to some original act of conquest in the second place, and they defended their claims by arms in the third place. The Franks had overrun Gaul, the Goths Spain, the Saxons and afterwards the Normans England, and behind these conquests no one presumed to go in quest of a national title. However, prescription, which would have given the original inhabitants of the newly discovered lands, at least the most advanced of them, the territories that they occupied, was strictly limited to Christian powers. The rule had no application whatever to the infidels of either east or west. Nor was prescription an indefeasible title even in Christian Europe; war and conquest were still accounted lawful; kings were not restrained, either by sense of justice or by sentiment, from extending their boundaries by force of arms: so that the only perfectly conclusive title to territory was the military power to defend it. Hence there was nothing in the public law of Europe, or in the morality of the times, to restrain the maritime powers from taking possession of the new lands. It was perfectly competent for them to draw the sword, to overrun and conquer the lands, and then to plead conquest as a title-deed. Besides, this was the direct and simple path to that end. This is what Ferdinand the Catholic did in the case of Granada, but it is not what the maritime states did in the case of America. They chose rather a circuitous path to their goal. They did indeed draw the sword, and they appropriated the lands by force; neither then nor afterwards, however, did they justify what they did on the ground of force, save in a secondary sense, but pleaded a very different principle. What this principle was, will appear as we

¹ *Elements of International Law*, Part II, 165 : 164. Dana's Edition.

proceed, and also the reasons why, as we think, this principle was adopted.

To the mind of Christian Europe in the fifteenth century the distinction between Christian and Infidel was ineffaceable. After stating that the Church, as a church, did not promote African slavery, but sometimes discouraged it, and quoting Soto, the law adviser of Charles V, who said that as respects slavery and the slave trade there can be no difference between Christians and Pagans, because the law of nations is equal to all nations, Dr. Lieber says: "The general feeling, however, was, especially at the earlier times, that paganism, which meant not being baptized, deprived the individual of those rights which a true jural morality considers inherent in each human being. The fact of being baptized or not being baptized determined a claim to the commonest rights, nay more, to mere sympathy with bodily suffering."¹ Mr. Wheaton states the case thus: "According to the European ideas of that age, the heathen nations of the other quarters of the globe were the lawful spoil and prey of their civilized conquerors."² Mr. H. H. Bancroft says: "That they [the native West Indians] possessed any rights, any natural or inherent privileges in regard to their lands or their lives; that these innocent and inoffensive people were not fit subjects for coercion, treachery, robbery, enslavement, and slaughter, was a matter which seems never to have been questioned at that time by either discoverer, adventurer, or ruler. However invalid in any of the Spanish courts might have been the argument of a housebreaker, that in the room he entered he discovered a purse of gold, and took it, Spaniards never thought of applying such logic to themselves in regard to the possessions of the natives in the new lands their Genoese had found."³ How fierce was

¹ Miscellaneous Writings, II, 23, 24. Philadelphia, 1881.

² International Law, II, 166.

³ History of Central America, I, 165, 166. San Francisco, 1883.

the spirit that sometimes burned in Christian breasts, is shown by an address made by Dr. Pedro de Santander to the King of Spain, July 15, 1557. He says of Florida: "This is the Land of Promise, possessed by idolators, the Amorite, Amulekite, Moabite, Canaanite. This is the land promised by the Eternal Father to the Faithful, since we are commanded by God in the Holy Scriptures to take it from them, being idolators, and, by reason of their idolatry and sin, to put them all to the knife, leaving no living thing save maidens and children, their cities robbed and sacked, their walls and houses leveled to the earth." This was saying in effect that heathen had no rights whatever that Christians were bound to respect. On this moral basis, strengthened by race and color hatred, was reared the structure of African slavery; a structure that the Portugese began at the very time when they first applied the same morality to the lands and possessions of the heathen whom they found on the African coast beyond Cape Bojador.

Still another fact is essential to an understanding of the subject. According to the European ideas of that age, not only were the heathen nations of other quarters of the globe the lawful spoil of their civilized conquerors, but, as between the Christians themselves, the sovereign Pontiff was the Supreme Arbiter. The Christian powers might spoil the heathen as they liked, but if they could not agree in their spoliations, then the Pontiff should decide among them. But if the Pontiff might adjust conflicting claims as a judge, why might he not prevent them as a legislator? Antecedently there were no reasons why he should not, and many reasons why he should do so. Moreover, the very conception of the Papal Vicariate was favorable to such a course. Not only had the heathen been given to the Vicar as an inheritance, and the utter-

¹ Quoted by Mr. Parkman, *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, 13. note. Boston, 1870.

most parts of the earth as a possession, but he had jurisdiction over the Christian states as well. The spiritual sword bore rule over the temporal sword. Even the humane Dominican Las Casas, in the celebrated "Propositions" written to repel the idea that savages might be converted by force, assumes that the Pope has authority over all men, Christians and infidels alike, in matters of salvation; that it is the Pope's duty to propagate the gospel; that he may oblige Christian princes to do this work, and that he may distribute infidel provinces among them for this purpose: which shows what were the Christian ideas of the time in their mildest form, and that the gentle priest was not altogether superior to his age.¹ It was on this high ground that the first division of the heathen world was made.

In 1415 Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, reviving the idea of the peninsular form of Africa,² that Pomponius Mela had thrown out about the beginning of our era, began that search for an ocean-path to the Indies to which he devoted the remainder of his days, and which Vasco da Gama, two generations later, in the harbor of Calcutta, brought to a successful termination. The Prince's great undertaking involved an expenditure of money and life that none in his day but great princes were capable of maintaining. He had the interest in this undertaking that superior minds always have in their own bold ideas; he was a large-minded man, ready to do for science and discovery more than any of his contemporaries; he was an ardent patriot, intent on the glory of Portugal, and a zealous Catholic, anxious to spread the true faith; moreover, no one for the time appeared to compete with him for the arduous honor of solving the African problem and of finding the new road to the East.

¹ The Narrative and Critical History of America, II, 321, 322. Boston.

² The commonly accepted idea was that Africa turned eastward and joined Asia, thus making the Indian Ocean an inland sea.

But the Prince's forecast told him that such competition was likely to arise; told him, particularly, that it was sure to do so the moment his undertaking should be crowned with success; told him, also, that the very success of his whole endeavor, in contingencies quite likely to occur, would depend upon his continuing to hold the monopoly which his genius had given him. His only resort for protection was to the Roman Pontiff, Vicar of Christ in both Christian and heathen lands. Accordingly, on the return of Gonsalvo, one of his captains, from his successful voyage in 1451, the Navigator sent to Martin V "the news of this discovery as the first fruits of his long-continued exertions, and prayed for a concession in perpetuity to the crown of Portugal of whatever lands might be discovered beyond Cape Bojador, to the Indies inclusive, especially submitting to His Holiness that the salvation of these people was the principal object of his labor in that conquest. The news of this discovery was considered so valuable by the Pope and the College of Cardinals that a bull was forthwith issued in conformity with the request, and was subsequently confirmed by the Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV."¹ The resort of the Prince to Rome shows as well the estimation in which that see was held, as that the rule of law known as the Right of Discovery had not yet taken definite form. It is also clear that the Pontiff would see in the Prince's ventures the promise of an enlargement of Christendom and of the Papal See, that he would feel flattered by the Prince's piety, that a concession would give the Prince moral support in the eyes of his countrymen, and that all these motives would constrain him to make a favorable reply. Hence the concession. However, five years before Gama reached Calcutta, another Pope had followed the example set by Martin V, granting a similar concession to another power.

¹ Major: *The Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator*, 9. London, 1877.

The commission that the Spanish sovereigns gave to Columbus, April 30, 1492, contains no allusion to religion.¹ It speaks of the Admiral's going, by their command, with some of their vessels and men, to discover some islands and continents in the ocean, and expresses the hope that, by God's assistance, he may be successful. On his return the next year, Ferdinand and Isabella, anxious both to honor the Pope and to secure to themselves the exclusive possession of the Western countries, resorted to Alexander VI for a concession similar to the one granted to Prince Henry forty-two years before. They were careful to intimate to His Holiness that their learned advisers informed them that such a concession was unnecessary, thus hinting a title by discovery; but as they were Catholic princes in fact as well as in name, they were unwilling to take additional steps in the ocean-path that Columbus had found, without the papal sanction. Pleased with this mark of deference, and anxious to strengthen his pontificate, on which he had just entered, His Holiness, who was himself a Spaniard, hastened to respond to their request. On the third of May, 1493, he issued a bull of concession, and on the day following a bull of partition that, together, left undone nothing that their hearts could wish. Historians have much difficulty to harmonize in some points the two documents, but their purport and spirit can be well shown by a summary of the second one.

The Sovereign Pontiff begins with asserting that among the works well pleasing to the Divine Majesty, and dear to himself, the servant of the servants of God, the exaltation and increase of the Christian faith and Catholic church are very prominent. He celebrates the devotion of the Spanish sovereigns to this cause, particularly as shown in the recent conquest of Granada. He briefly recites the discovery by Columbus of certain remote lands before un-

¹ It is found in Poore: *Constitutions and Charters*, 304, 305. Washington, 1878.

known, peopled by many nations who are peaceful, believers in one God, the Creator, fitted to embrace the Catholic faith and to cultivate good morals. He understands that his dear son and daughter in Christ, for various reasons, but especially for the exaltation of religion, desire to conquer these lands and so lead these nations to the Catholic faith. He commends this holy purpose, and exhorts them to prosecute it with zeal, not allowing danger or toil to hinder them; and that they may assume this great undertaking the more freely and boldly, he, in the plenitude of his apostolic power, not at their instance, nor at the request of anyone in their behalf, but of his own liberality, gives them all the main lands and all the islands found hitherto, and yet to be found, westward and southward of a line drawn from the north to the south pole one hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, whether in the direction of India or in any other direction, except such lands and islands as may have been in possession of some Christian prince on Christmas day preceding. West and south of said line, with the limitation just noted, he, Alexander VI, by the authority of God omnipotent, granted to him in blessed Peter, which he also enjoys as Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, gives, grants, and assigns forever, all properties, states, camps, places, and villages, whether discovered or yet to be discovered, as an eternal possession to the rulers of Castile and Leon, their heirs and successors forever, with full and perpetual authority and jurisdiction. He commands them to use all diligence in sending to these remote lands and countries God-fearing, learned, and experienced men, well fitted to instruct the people in the faith; and, that nothing may be wanting to their proper encouragement and security, he strictly forbids all persons whatever, even those of royal and imperial state, under penalty of excommunication, to approach the aforesaid lands for trade or any other purpose whatever, without the special permission of the Spanish princes. His

Holiness then provides for the publication of this his bull, and concludes with the declaration that any man who interferes with its publication or disobeys it, will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.¹

This bull makes no formal mention of the King of Portugal; but the reservation made in favor of any Christian prince who was in possession of lands west of the 100-league line on Christmas day, 1492, was made in his interest. The concession to Spain must, therefore, be taken in connection with the concession previously granted to Portugal. Together, these bulls divide all those parts of the globe that were unknown at Rome, Lisbon, and Barcelona in the fifteenth century, whether land or water, between the two nations; that is, the major parts of Africa and Asia, the whole of America, and the islands of the sea. These concessions are not made ostensibly on the ground that the Portugese and Spaniards have discovered the regions conceded, nor do they recognize discovery at all, save as it may aid the two powers in settling disputed points along the 100-league line. The Popes act in the plenitude of their power as Vicars of Christ and Heads of the Church. They do not limit the concessions to lands already discovered. When Martin V gave the East to Portugal, Prince Henry's captains had reached only as far as the Guinea coast, and when Alexander VI gave the West to Spain, Columbus had found but a few of the Western islands. And yet the latter Pontiff is careful to say two or three times over, that his gift includes the lands to be discovered as well as those already discovered. In these matters, therefore, the Popes acted in their very grandest manner. In effect, they signed, sealed, and delivered to the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain blank deeds to all the unknown parts of the globe,

¹ This bull is found, in Latin, in Poore: *Constitutions and Charters*, 305, *seq.*

and told those sovereigns to write in the descriptions as quickly as possible. That Spain's original title to America, thus conferred, was something quite different from priority of discovery, as known in modern international law, will abundantly appear as we proceed with the subject.

Careful as the Pope had been to guard, in the bull of partition, the rights of Portugal, that power, nevertheless, immediately took the alarm. The King of Portugal was quite willing to accept a bi-partite division of the heathen world, but quite unwilling to accept the one that the Pope had actually made. His remonstrances led to a new division, consummated by what is commonly called the Capitulation of Tordesillas, but sometimes the Treaty of Partition of the Ocean, entered into by the two powers in 1494, and ratified by Pope Julius in 1506. The bi-partite division was accepted, but the line of demarkation was now drawn 370 leagues west of the Azores.¹

This celebrated treaty was followed by many important consequences, some of which should be mentioned. It excluded Spain from Africa, and from the eastern road to the Indies. It excluded Portugal from North America, but

¹ The cause of Portugal's alarm is not very clear. The common explanation is, that she wanted more sea-room in the Atlantic, and that is probably the correct one. She seems not to have understood that crowding the line of limitation 270 leagues towards America was crowding it the same distance towards Asia; that widening her sea-room in the Atlantic was narrowing it in the Indian Ocean. However, in 1493 her navigators had not reached the Spice Islands, and Brazil had not been discovered. We must also remember the fact stated by Humboldt: "Not only one hemisphere, but almost two-thirds of the earth was then a new and unexplored world—as unseen as that portion of the moon's surface which the law of gravitation constantly averts from the glance of the inhabitants of the earth." (*Cosmos* ii, 648, London, 1849). The fact is, men were a long time in getting accustomed to think of the earth as a sphere. Pope Alexander VI not only supposed the Azores and Cape Verde Islands to be in the same longitude, but he speaks of distance "south" of a meridian line. The meridian designated by His Holiness was supposed, at the time, to be the meridian of no magnetic variation.

gave her Brazil, that would also have fallen to her under the rule of priority, since it was discovered by Cabral, a Portuguese. It was one of the causes that led to the first circumnavigation of the earth and to the demonstration of its sphericity. It provoked angry disputes as to where the line of division actually fell on both sides of the globe, and disputes as to the ownership of such important groups of islands as the Moluccas and the Phillipines.¹ It led to attempts to exclude all ships but those of Portugal from the Indian Ocean, and all ships but those of Spain from the Pacific. It led to the writing of famous books on the laws that should govern the navigation of the sea.² But it wholly failed to accomplish the grand end for which it was intended, viz.: the division of the ocean between the two powers of the Iberian Peninsula. The two nations indeed founded vast empires in the new countries, but this was due to their great military power and maritime enterprise, and to the fact that they were pioneers in discovery and exploration, rather than to the Popes' bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas. The New World was too large and the competing nations too eager and too powerful to permit such a measure to be carried out. England and France, and afterwards Holland, were unwilling that Portugal and Spain alone should share the spoil of the Infidel. They refused to accept a parchment as a title

On the Atlantic side, the major point in dispute was where the line would fall; the minor points were the point to measure from, the length of the league to be used and the charts to be followed. On the Pacific side, the Phillipine Islands, first discovered by Magellan, fell to Spain, although on the Portuguese side of the line. Spain yielded her claim to the Moluccas on receipt of 350,000 ducats of gold.

² "The extravagant claims of Spain and Portugal to the exclusive dominion both of the lands and seas of the new world . . . were contested by the Dutch, who had shaken off the political yoke of Spain and the religious yoke of Rome. Their great jurist, Grotius, took the lead in maintaining the common rights of mankind to the free navigation, commerce, and fisheries of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, against their pretensions. His treatise *De Marc Libero* was published in 1609."—Wheaton: *History of Law of Nations*, 153. New York, 1845.

deed to a continent, 16,000,000 square miles in extent, that was wholly unknown to civilized men when the parchment was signed, no matter whether it was dated at Tordesillas or at Rome; nor would they admit that the uplifting of a cross on a strange coast to the shout of "Santiago" gave possession to half a world. At the time the Kings of France and England were true sons of the Church, as the King of France continued to be; but the Papacy had never been strong enough to impose upon three-fourths of the globe such conditions as those made in 1493 and 1506. Spain and Portugal strove to the utmost to establish the bi-partite division *de facto*, but they failed, and were ultimately compelled to submit their own claims to a rule that threw the ocean open to all the maritime nations.¹

The spirit of discovery spread over Western Europe. Columbus said that, after his first voyage, the very tailors in Spain begged to become discoverers. The younger Cabot wrote: "When newes was brought that Don Christopher Colonos, Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of King Henry 7, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to sail by the west into the east, where spices grow, by a map that was never known before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to do some notable thing."² From this spirit of discovery sprang the voyages of the Cabots and the English plantations in America; the voyages of Verrazanno and Cartier and the French establishments; and later the maritime enterprises of the Dutch. When Sir Francis Drake first saw the Pacific Ocean, he was vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, and fell on

¹ "Even in modern times, Spain has claimed the northwestern coasts of America, upon the sole ground of having discovered them."—Phillimore: *International Law*, Part III, Chap. XII.

² *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 136.

his knees and implored the divine assistance that he might some time sail thither and make a perfect discovery of the same. When Spain complained to England that Drake had invaded her ocean realm, Queen Elizabeth's government replied that England did not acknowledge Spain's claim to all that part of the world, no matter whether that claim was based on the Pope's donation or on the fact that Spanish navigators had touched those shores at widely separated points. Replying to a complaint that a French corsair had captured some Spanish treasure ships, Francis I sent word to the Emperor Charles V that, as the Emperor and the King of Portugal had divided the world between themselves without offering him any part of it, he would like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them sole heirs of those countries. As long as they refused to comply with this, he would consider himself justified in possessing himself of everything he could on the high seas. It is also deserving of remark that the extraordinary developments of piracy and buccaneering carried on by the English against Spain were largely caused by the extravagant territorial pretensions of that power. Thus, beyond Portugal and Spain neither the Papal bull nor the Capitulation of Tordesillas was anything more than a *brutum fulmen*.

The prompt repudiation of the bi-partite division of the ocean by the maritime powers, and the ultimate throwing open of the seas to discovery and exploration to all nations that were in a position to enter into the competition, rendered necessary some other rule of appropriation, unless, indeed, the new era were to be a mere carnival of force and blood. Some criterion must be set up in the room of the Popes' concessions. The Spanish sovereigns had virtually hinted such a criterion when they told Alexander VI, in 1493, that, according to their law advisers, they were not dependent upon his donation. They meant, undoubtedly, that the discovery of the Western islands by their

ships, sent out at their expense, and commanded by an admiral carrying their commission, was a sufficient title-deed to these discoveries. This hint seems to be the earliest suggestion of the modern Right of Discovery, into the origin of which we are now to inquire.

Sir Henry Sumner Maine defines occupation (*occupatio*), which was one of the natural modes of acquiring property recognized by the Romans, as "advisedly taking possession of that which, at the moment, is the property of no man, with the view (adds the technical definition) of acquiring property in it for yourself."¹ Such property, before appropriation, the Romans called *res nullius*, and they divided it into two kinds, property that never had had an owner, and property that had no owner at the time of the appropriation. Examples of the first kind are wild animals taken in the chase, fishes caught in the sea, wild fowl, jewels disinterred for the first time, and lands newly discovered or never before cultivated. Examples of the second kind are movables that have been abandoned, lands that have been deserted, and the property of an enemy. "In all these objects," says the learned author, "the full rights of dominion were acquired by the occupant who first took possession of them as his own, an intention which, in certain cases, had to be manifested by special acts." Occupancy in its simple form is evidently a part of the universal law of nature, but the occupancy of the Roman law consisted, to a considerable degree, of artificial definitions of *res nullius*. Thus, the habit of regarding an enemy's property as "nobody's" property originated in "the assumption that communities are restored to a state of nature by the outbreak of hostilities, and that in the artificial-natural condition thus produced, the institution of private property falls into abeyance, so far as concerns the belligerents." On this point

¹ Ancient Law, Chap. VIII. "The Early History of Property." New York, 1870.

the dogmas of the lawyers "amounted to an unqualified assertion that enemy's property of every sort is *res nullius* to the other belligerent." As soon as men begin to rise above the level of facts accomplished, and to cast about them for theories, they shrink from pleading brute force as a claim to anything; they seek to find some basis of moral right, even when violence is the real basis of the claim; and of this tendency no better illustration can be given than these refinements of the Roman lawyers.

Sir H. S. Maine further asserts that "occupancy and the rules into which the Roman lawyers expanded it, are the sources of all modern international law on the subject of capture in war, and of the acquisition of rights in newly discovered countries." The learned jurist does not point out, however, that the application of the Roman doctrine to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was made by means of a new definition of *nullus*. The maritime powers did not acknowledge the savages as their enemies, or plead the conqueror's rights in relation to their Western claims. "The English possessions in America were not claimed by right of conquest, but of discovery," says Chief Justice Marshall, "and such was the claim of the other powers that divided the New World." They had not seized the possessions of their enemies by force, but had occupied what belonged to nobody. Practically, discovery, when consummated, was conquest, but theoretically, it was something very different. An enemy overcome in battle was *nullus* according to the Roman law, but another definition, and one more consonant with the temper of the times, was now adopted. This definition was supplied by the Roman Church.

The new definition of *nullus* was, a heathen, pagan, infidel, or unbaptized person. "Paganism, which meant being unbaptized," says Dr. Lieber, "deprived the individual of those rights which a true jural morality considers inherent in each human being." The same writer also

states that the Right of Discovery is founded "on the principle that what belongs to no one be appropriated by the finder"¹ but this principle becomes effectual only when supplemented by the Church definition of *nullus*. That definition supplied the lacking premise in the demonstration. Grant that *res nullius* is the property of the finder; that an infidel is *nullus*; that the American savage is an infidel, and the argument is complete. That the Church, one of whose great duties is to protect the weak and helpless, should have supplied one-half the logic that justified the spoliation and enslavement of the heathen, is one of the anomalies of history.

We have seen that the Roman law furnished a full legal justification for the appropriation of the New World by the Christian nations. They had but to hold the savages their enemies and to treat them accordingly. That was the simple and direct path to the predestined goal. They chose another path. The causes that led to their choice will be considered in another place more fully; but here it is pertinent to say that to use the Church definition rather than the Roman one, was more in accordance with the theological temper of the times. That definition would also well blend with the missionary aspect of discovery and colonization, to which many Frenchmen and Spaniards gave much attention. At all events, while the dogmatic habit of mind was not strong enough to establish the Popes' donations in public law, it was strong enough to cause the acceptance of the new definition of *nullus*. This is abundantly shown by the quotations made above.

Perhaps the strongest proof of the correctness of the view now advanced is furnished by the commissions, charters, and patents granted to explorers by the Kings of England. Henry VII, in 1496, commissioned John Cabot and his sons "to seek out and discover all islands, regions, and provinces whatsoever that may belong to heathens and in-

¹ Miscellaneous Writings, II, 28.

fidels," and "to subdue, occupy, and possess these territories as his vassals and lieutenants." The charter granted to Sir Walter Raleigh by Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, gave him full liberty and license "to discover, search, find out, and view such remote heathen and barbarian lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him shall seem good," etc. Afterwards the words "heathen" and "barbarian" were omitted from this class of documents, but the phrase "not possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by any Christian people" is found in charters of the next century, as in those of Virginia, 1606, and New England, 1620. The disappearance of the heathen qualification from the English charters after 1620 was due in part to the fact that the boundaries of claims had become more definite, but also in part to the growing secularization of politics.

Such was the origin of the Right of Discovery, the criterion to which the nations that had divided the New World appealed in territorial controversies, and the ultimate ground of title throughout the United States. How well adapted it was to its purpose, at least how inevitable, is shown by its acceptance by Portugal and Spain in room of the bi-partite division sanctioned by the Popes. At first it made little difference to those powers, such was the vastness of their discoveries, whether they held by the one title or the other, but in the end it made a very great difference. The Papal donations gave them everything, even making great oceans closed seas to the other powers; the Right of Discovery gave them what they had discovered and could hold.¹

¹ "The importance of the explorations completed by those nations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be gathered from the fact that from the date of the discovery of America by Columbus, and the exploration of the Portugese navigators, Diaz, Da Gama, and Magellan, the daring mariners of the Iberian Peninsula brought a new world into existence, and defined the unvisited shores of the old. Not only were the West Indies and

Having pointed out the sources of the Right and the circumstances in which it originated, we shall now attempt a stricter analysis and definition.

1. Primarily the Right of Discovery was a rule which governed, not the relations of discoverers and discovered, but the relations of different discoverers. As the potentates of the Old World "were all in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary," said Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the decision of the Supreme Court in the celebrated case of *Johnson and Graham's Lessee v. McIntosh*, "in order to avoid conflicting settlements, and subsequent war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition, which they all asserted, should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title might by consummated by possession."¹ But the adoption of the prin-

the Spanish Main, together with the whole western shore of America, from California to Cape Horn, explored by Spaniards, and the seaboard of the Eastern Hemisphere, from Cape Bojador to Macao, traced out by the Portuguese, but those nationalities divided between them the honor of having discovered the greater portion of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and Polynesia."—Low: *Maritime Discovery*, *preface*. London, 1881.

¹ This case arose in the following way: In 1773 and 1775 the chiefs of the Illinois and Piankeshaw Indians sold two large tracts of land in Illinois and Indiana to certain parties, of whom Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, was one. In 1818 the United States Government sold to William McIntosh 11,560 acres of land lying within one of the tracts. Johnson's interest in this tract passed by devise to Joshua Johnson and Thomas J. Graham, who leased to the plaintiff. The plaintiff brought a suit of ejectment against McIntosh in the United States District Court for Illinois. The Court decided against him, and the case went up on error to the Supreme Court, where the judgment below was affirmed, March 10, 1823. The plaintiff alleged that the Revolution had prevented the purchasers of 1773 and 1775 taking possession of their lands, and that afterwards they had failed, after repeated efforts, to get their titles confirmed. The sole issue was, whether the Indians could make a valid sale of lands occupied by them to private parties. — 8 Wheaton's Reports, 515, *seq.*

ciple left many points of much importance and difficulty unsettled.

2. First, all the authorities agree that discovery must be consummated by possession and use. Marshall has just been quoted to that effect. Chancellor Kent calls discovery alone "an imperfect title." "Mere transient discovery amounted to nothing, unless followed in a reasonable time by occupancy and settlement, more or less permanent under the sanction of the state." Sir Robert Phillimore says "discovery, use, and settlement are all ingredients of that occupation which constitutes a valid title to national acquisitions. Discovery, according to the acknowledged practice of nations furnishes an *inchoate* title to possession in the discoverer. But the discoverer must either, in the first instance, be fortified by the public authority and by a commission from the state of which he is a member, or his discovery must be subsequently adopted by that state." He says further: "Continuous use is an indispensable element of occupation properly so called. The mere erection of crosses, land marks, and inscriptions is ineffectual for acquiring or maintaining an exclusive title to a country of which no real use is made."¹

3. A much more difficult and not less important question than this was the length of time to elapse before a nation lost, through non-occupancy, the right that mere discovery gave. It was a question that could not be answered in terms. Much would depend on geographical relations, the nearness of neighbors to the territory in question, and the relative strength and enterprise of competing powers. The Cabots discovered New Foundland, Labrador, and Cape Breton near the end of the fifteenth century; Frobisher thrice visited Labrador in the decade 1570-1580; English fishermen were continually in those

¹ Commentaries upon International Law, Part III, chap. xii, Philadelphia, 1854.

waters, and yet England allowed those regions to go to France, who had made more thorough explorations and had discovered the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Spain discovered the Mississippi in the first half of the sixteenth century, but she hardly resisted its passage to France, who had discovered and explored its upper waters, in the second half of the seventeenth.

4. A more difficult question than either of these was the extent of geographical right following discovery and occupation. In the case of an island, unless of great size, there could arise no question; but it was preposterous to claim that merely touching a great continent at one or a few points gave a claim to the whole of it. Neither could the claimant be required to enclose his purchase, after the manner of Dido at Carthage. Obviously no rule could be formulated that would cover all cases; even more would depend on circumstances in this case than in the one last considered. We are on the eve of the quarto-centennial of the discovery of America; and questions of boundary which spring out of the original appropriations still remain unsettled. Sir H. S. Maine speaks pointedly of the inadequacy of the Roman rule of *res nullius* to meet the case, as shown by the frequent disputes "on the very two points on which certainty was most required." One of these points is "the extent of the territory that was acquired for his sovereign by the discoverer"—the very point we are considering.¹ The grand difficulty was to obtain agreement upon sub-rules, and

¹ "Bentham was so struck with the confusion attending the application of the legal principle, that he went out of his way to eulogize the famous bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, dividing the undiscovered countries of the world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese by a line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores; and, grotesque as his praises may appear at first sight, it may be doubted whether the arrangement of Pope Alexander is absurder in principle than the rule of public law, which gave half a continent to the monarch whose servants had fulfilled the conditions required by Roman jurisprudence for the acquisition of property, in a valuable object which could be covered by the hand."—*Maine*.

then to fit these rules to the facts of history and geography. As a result, the more important disputes were referred to the arbitrament of the sword. A glance at one of the most famous of them will illustrate the difficulty of the question.

The Cabots, sailing with an English commission, discovered the eastern shore of North America. This was the foundation of England's original claim on this continent. Says Edmund Burke: "We derive our rights in America from the discovery of Sebastian [John] Cabot, who first made the northern continent in 1497. The fact is sufficiently certain to establish the right of our settlement in North America."¹ Perhaps it was not unnatural that England should claim, not only the coast that the Cabots had discovered, but all of the country back of it. At all events, six of her thirteen colonies she bounded north and south by east and west lines running to the Pacific Ocean. Under some conditions a from-sea-to-sea rule would answer, but not under those existing in this case. Possibly its adoption was due to ignorance of discovery, but England insisted on it, and was thus brought into collision with both France and Spain.

First, the Spaniards had discovered the opposite shore of the continent, the Gulfs of California and Mexico, and the Rio Grande and Mississippi Rivers, and so were planted right in the path of England's westward march. More than this, the French had discovered the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Upper Mississippi, and also come into possession, through the lapse of the Spanish title, of the second of these rivers throughout its whole extent. Very naturally, France asserted the principle, which is really more reasonable than the from-sea-to-sea rule, that the discoverer of a river is entitled to all the country that it drains. A struggle for the Great West was, therefore, unavoidable in view of the developments of events.

¹ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 1.

When two hostile armies, moving on converging roads, reach the point of convergence, a battle follows. This is precisely what happened when the English and the French met, in the middle of the last century, west of the Great Mountains. The issue was in one respect a singular one. England acquired by the treaty of 1763 the territory immediately in dispute, as well as Canada, and at the same time, by accepting the Mississippi River as a boundary, she surrendered the from-sea-to-sea principle.

Here we are dealing with the so-called principle of "contiguity." In discussing with Spain the western limits of the Louisiana purchase, the United States laid down two rules touching this subject that command the approval of Sir Robert Phillimore. "The first of these is, that when any European nation takes possession of any extent of sea-coast, that possession is understood as extending into the interior country, to the sources of the rivers emptying within that coast, to all their branches, and the country they cover, and to give it a right, in exclusion of all other nations, to the same. . . . The second is, that whenever one European nation makes a discovery and takes possession of any portion of that continent, and another afterwards does the same at some distance from it, where the boundary between them is not determined by the principle above mentioned, the middle distance becomes such of course."¹

Dr. Lieber says discovery, in the modern sense, means that "the government of a man who discovers an un-owned (or nearly unowned) land can fairly claim it as standing under its sovereignty, if it can and does establish its manifest protection and influence, and as far as it establishes this weight and influence;" whereas "discovery in the Spanish sense of the word meant the first visit of a Catholic to an island or country not peopled at all, or

¹ International Law, Part III, Chap. XII.

peopled by non-Christians, whom it was perfectly fair to conquer or subdue by any means."¹ But this Spanish method of procedure sprang rather from the principle of the Papal donation than from the Right of Discovery.

5. According to Roman law, nobody's property did not become somebody's unless taken possession of with that intent; and in certain cases this intent must be manifested by some special acts. Naturally, therefore, in an age pre-eminently ceremonial, somewhat elaborate forms were commonly employed when a navigator took possession of a new land. Of course, something was left to time, place, and the taste of the principal actor, but these formalities seem to have been considered essential by Spanish, English, French, and Dutch alike: "A loud proclamation, before God and man, of the deed then and there consummated. This proclamation was made with drawn sword, by the commander of the party taking possession, and sometimes attended by the throwing of earth toward the four cardinal points, as was common, and is now in Spanish America, in giving judicial possession in granting lands, and planting the royal standard. All present were called upon to witness the act, which was done for and in the name of the sovereign authority recognized by the party. Then the notary, or, if none were present, a clerk, or a person or persons appointed to act as such, took down in writing what had been done, and each member of the party signed it."² But the age was religious as well as ceremonial, and religious rites were incorporated with the civil forms. Moreover, a cross reared on an island or coast would be evidence that it had been visited and appropriated by a Christian navigator. The cross, the mass, and prayer were conspicuous features on these occasions. At San Salvador, Columbus, clad in shining vestments, bearing a drawn sword, caused

¹ Miscellaneous Writings, II, 26.

² H. H. Bancroft: *Central America*, I, 371, *note*.

a cross to be erected while he repeated in Latin a prayer that he is said always to have used on such occasions. "O, Lord, Eternal and Omnipotent God, who hast created by Thy sacred word Heaven, the earth, and the sea, blessed and glorified be Thy name; praised be Thy majesty, that is worthy by Thy humble servant that its sacred name shall be made known and proclaimed in this other part of the world." John Cabot raised on the shore of North America crosses surmounted by the flag of England and the banner of St. Mark, and Cartier raised crosses crowned with the *fleur de lis* on the shores of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. St. Luson stood near a cross at the Sault Ste. Marie when he took possession of the Great Lakes in the name of the redoubtable Monarch Louis XIV of France, as did La Salle when, at the mouth of the Mississippi, he took possession, in the same name, of the vast region that the Mississippi drains. Balboa brandished in one hand a sword, and in the other a banner bearing on one side the arms of Castile and Leon, and on the other the Virgin and Child, when, at the Isthmus, he rushed into the waters of the Pacific and delivered to that ocean the grandiloquent speech in which he took possession of its four corners in the name of the Spanish princes.¹

6. While the Right of Discovery, as it took its place in public law, was merely a rule of appropriation binding upon the maritime powers, it carried with it the right to deal with the native occupants of the soil as each power saw fit. Chief Justice Marshall thus lays down the law in *Johnson v. McIntosh*: "Those relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives were to be regulated by themselves. The rights thus acquired being

¹ H. H. Bancroft: Central America, I, 370. The lengthy *proces verbal* executed by St. Luson at the Sault, and by La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi, are found in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, XI. Parkman gives animated descriptions of these transactions. La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, 47 seq. and 285 seq.

exclusive, no other power could interfere between them. In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were, in no instance, entirely disregarded, but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired. They were admitted to be the original occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as a just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their right to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, was necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil as their own to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it. While the different nations of Europe respected the right of the natives, as occupants, they asserted the ultimate right to be in themselves; and claimed and exercised, as a consequence of this ultimate dominion, a power to grant the soil while yet in possession of the natives. These grants have been understood by all to convey a title to the grantees, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy." These propositions are asserted over and over again by text-writers and by courts. Mr. Washburn says none of the Christian nations that planted colonies in America recognized a seizin of lands on the part of the Indians dwelling upon them, and that they all held an Indian's deed to be simply an extinguishment of his claim, that did not pass the soil or free-hold. "In none of the English patents making grants of the country is the Indian title excepted."¹ Chancellor Kent declares it a settled and fundamental doctrine with us, "that all valid individual titles to land within the United States are derived from the grant of our local government, or from that of the United States, or from the crown, or royal charter of government established here prior to the Revolution."² This proposition needs some:

¹ Washburn: *Law of Real Property*, III, 182 Boston, 1876.

² Kent discusses this question in his *Commentaries*, lect. 51.

modification in the case of territories acquired from France, Spain, and Mexico. The Chancellor further asserts that discovery carried with it the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title by purchase or conquest, to grant the soil, and to exercise such a degree of sovereignty as circumstances required. "The royal grants and charters asserted titles against Europeans only, and were blank paper so far as the natives were concerned. In that regard, the right conveyed by discovery was merely an exclusive and absolute pre-emption of the soil." So thoroughly has this principle been carried out, that there is not an Indian in the United States who holds the soil on which he lives, his farm, if he has one, his interest in the reservation on which he lives, if in tribal relations, by an original Indian title. The Indian land-owner, as well as the white one, holds ultimately by right of discovery!

How the powers that acquired territorial rights in North America used their right of exclusive and absolute pre-emption, is an old and well-worn story. The inhuman cruelty of the Spaniards, in particular, can never exhaust the eloquence of denunciation. But it does not appear that any person who played a part in those transactions ever thought of regarding the red men as absolute proprietors; not even the admirable Williams in Rhode Island, the excellent Colvert in Maryland, or the philanthropic Penn in Pennsylvania. Penn's considerate treatment of the Indians marks him a man of advanced ideas and humane sentiments. Penn, however, did not first visit these Indians and obtain their consent to plant a colony among them, but, rather, first sent two thousand settlers to the banks of the Delaware and then met them in council under the elm at Shackamaxon.

7. The facts now presented suggest an answer to the question, Why the Christian powers rested their claims on discovery, and not on conquest. As we have seen, the right conveyed by discovery was merely an exclusive and

absolute pre-emption of the soil, but such pre-emption, even when limited by occupancy, would, for the time, reach much farther than conquest. Spain set an example by claiming at first, under the Pope's donation, all America, and when compelled to abandon that ground and to rest her rights on discovery, she still claimed that the casual visit of a Spanish navigator to a heathen land gave her the right to it. The from-sea-to-sea principle, as asserted by England, was of a similar nature. It has been common to explain the grants of land extending from ocean to ocean, made by James I and Charles II, to certain of the English colonies, by referring them to ignorance of geography; but a committee of the Continental Congress, reporting on the claims of the United States, August 16, 1782, suggested that their majesties' "principal object at that time was to acquire by that of occupancy which originated in this western world, to-wit, by charters, a title of the lands comprehended therein against foreign powers."¹ Of course, this is mere paper occupancy, but it is not improbable that we have here the explanation of the from-sea-to-sea charters. Discovery was then considered merely a pre-emption of the right to dispossess the savages by purchase or the sword, at the option of the pre-emptor; but this right, even when limited by what is called "occupancy," still gave the pre-emptor certain advantages over the conqueror. Moreover, to claim by discovery was more dignified than to claim by conquest, since the latter would be a recognition of the savages as enemies. Discovery, too, was much more in accord with the ecclesiastical ideas of the time.

8. Writers on law and morals have not failed to go behind the Right of Discovery and the ideas in which it originated, to find warrant for the European powers taking possession of the New World. Chancellor Kent says

¹ Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress, III, 177. Boston, 1821.

it was "part of the original destiny of the human race to subdue the earth, and till the ground from whence they were taken;" and this principle, so he argues, gave the Europeans, who were measurably fulfilling this destiny, the right to the lands occupied by the Indians, who were not fulfilling it, subject to proper limitations and restrictions.¹ Vattel argues that the unsettled habitations of the Indians in the immense regions of America "can not be accounted a true and legal possession; and the people of Europe, too closely pent up at home, finding land of which the savages stood in no particular need, and of which they made no actual and constant use, were lawfully entitled to take possession of it and settle it with colonies."² This view, however, he urges only to the extent of confining the Indians within narrower limits; and he praises the Puritans of New England and William Penn for their moderation and humanity in dealing with the savages. It is a striking proof of the extent to which politics have become secularized that the jurists and moralists of the modern period who have discussed this subject say not a word about religion which was so prominent in such discussions three or four hundred years ago. The argument now is, the civilized man has a right to dispossess the savage, not the Christian the infidel.

9. From the time of the French and Indian war England showed a disposition to abandon her earlier ground of title in North America. In the dispute with France as to the ownership of the Ohio Valley, just before that war began, she said little of the Cabots' discoveries, but much

¹ Computations of the amount of land required to support an Indian family in the Indian way range from 6,000 acres to 50,000 acres. One authority says a single Indian requires a number of square miles for his subsistence equal to the number of whites that can subsist on one square mile. At the present time the Indian reservations set apart by the Government of the United States amount to 150,000,000 acres, while the Indians are estimated at 262,000 souls.—Ellis: *The Red Man and the White Man*, 244. Boston, 1882.

² *The Law of Nations*, I, xviii, 269.

of her treaties with the Iroquois Indians, and of the French concession in the Treaty of Utrecht that the Five Nations were allies and subjects of Great Britain. That war over, England wholly abandoned the from-sea-to-sea charters, and undertook to limit her colonies by the Alleghany Mountains; and when treating with the Americans at Paris, in 1782, she denied that the States had any territorial rights beyond that limit, on the ground that the colonies had never extended beyond it. More than this, some English authorities denied, in the period preceding the Revolution, that England ever held the shore colonies by discovery, and set up conquest in its room. Blackstone, for example, holds that the English plantations were, principally, conquered or ceded countries having been obtained in the seventeenth century, either by driving out the natives or by treaties with them. This view was essential to Blackstone's theory of the American colonies. The law of England recognized two classes of colonies; those that were planted in desert and uncultivated regions by emigrants from the Mother Country, and those that were acquired by conquest or by treaty cession. In the first of these classes, the common law was of immediate force and application, so far as it was applicable, while in the second class it had no force whatever, but these colonies were immediately subject to Parliament. Blackstone lectured at Oxford as the contest between the Mother Country and the Colonies was drawing on; he favored the pretensions of the Crown and Parliament, and his anxiety to reach his conclusion not improbably led to the assumption of his premise. His conclusion is: "And therefore the common law of England, as such, has no allowance or authority there; they being no part of the Mother Country, but distinct, though dependent dominions."¹ Mr. Justice Story refutes the English jurist at length, showing that he abandons the earlier ground occu-

¹ Commentaries, I, 108.

pied by the English Government, and that his premise is at variance with all the precedents.¹ He declares that "there is not a single grant from the British crown from the earliest of Elizabeth down to the last of George the II, that affects to look to any title except that founded on discovery. Conquest or cession is not once alluded to. And it is impossible that it should have been; for, at the time when all the leading grants were respectively made, there had not been any conquest or cession from the natives of the territory comprehended in those grants." Even the grant of New Netherlands, made by Charles II to his brother, James Duke of York, in 1664, Story points out, was based on the original English claim to the coast, growing out of the Cabot discoveries. From the time that the Dutch established themselves at the mouth of the Hudson until the ultimate incorporation of their plantation in the British-American dominions, the English always regarded them as intruders whom they had a perfect right to expel or subdue. And it was the exercise of this right that gave to England the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware River.

B. A. HINSDALE, PH. D.

¹ *Commentaries on the Constitution*, I, 151, 158.

SOME POPULAR ERRORS IN REGARD TO MOUND BUILDERS AND INDIANS.

THE erroneous ideas of persons, otherwise well informed, concerning archæological matters would amaze one who could attain to any considerable knowledge of the science without previously becoming familiar to some extent with the many absurd theories and notions promulgated by authors ignorant of their subject and writing only to strike the popular mind and pocket. The tendency of most of these works—and the exceptions are not to be found among those of greatest fame and widest circulation—is to indulge in sentiment without much regard to facts; to appeal to the reader's emotions instead of to his reason; to induce a state of melancholy over the mournful and mysterious disappearance of a numerous and interesting people, instead of furnishing any information about them; to adroitly rehash old matter and present it in a new and attractive form, thereby gaining for the compiler the reputation of being a great and learned man.

It may seem harsh thus to characterize them, but a milder phraseology scarcely seems admissible; even allowing full honesty of purpose, the rhapsodies of ill-informed enthusiasts are as harmful as the deliberate misstatements of intentional deceivers; and one can not resist a feeling of indignation that the wide-spread desire for accurate information on a most interesting subject is met and perforce satisfied with such trash as forms the bulk of our archæological literature.

Since the time of Squier and Davis, who more than forty years ago published the results of what purported to be a careful and critical survey and examination of mounds and other remains in the Scioto Valley, there have forced themselves upon public attention hosts of writers, who, knowing nothing but what they had read,

and unable to interpret even that correctly, have flooded the market with books that cause a feverish excitement in the minds of those who are really interested in a study of the pre-historic condition of our country, and mystify the seekers after knowledge. Very seldom does a new fact appear, and when one does it is not duly set forth, or else is so distorted or slurred over that its importance is lost.

Of late years a few persons have been opening mounds in a somewhat intelligent manner; and when the results of numerous investigations by private parties can be collected and combined with those conducted by public institutions; when the similarities and differences of earth-works, and especially of the internal structure of mounds, can be studied; when a careful comparison can be had of the relics in all public and private collections—then will it be time to attempt a solution of the questions presenting themselves on every hand. But knowledge of what has been done, and skill to classify intelligently are essential to a successful prosecution of this work. The notoriety derived from newspapers and from connection with some public concern may create but cannot sustain a reputation for ability; and the work must finally be done by some one who has not derived all his information at second-hand or from his inner consciousness, but who has fitted himself for the task by careful study and observation of the works themselves.

Mainly by reason of the teachings of these sciolists, there are many widely prevalent ideas which are at variance with all observed facts, or in support of which only negative evidence can be produced. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to a few of these, and while their falsity may not be shown in a manner to satisfy the "laws of evidence," it is possible that a line of thought different from that to which we have so long been accustomed may be pointed out, which in competent hands may lead to good results.

It is not intended to give a systematic or logical order

of statement and argument, but only to point out some mistakes; and these will be cited somewhat at random. Nor are exact quotations aimed at; what are so marked are not from any particular book or author, but are to be considered as expressing the general views of a large class of readers, or persons who "are interested in the subject," and are put in quotation marks merely to avoid an introductory clause or sentence with each.

* * *

"The works of the Mound Builders evince a high culture or civilization."

So far as has yet been discovered, these people could not build a stone wall that would stand up. In the absence of springs or streams, they could procure water only by excavating a shallow pond; they could not even wall up a spring when one was convenient. They left not one stone used in building that shows any mark of a dressing tool. Their mounds and embankments were built by bringing loads of earth, never larger than one person could easily carry, in baskets or skins, as is proven by the hundreds of lens-shaped masses observable in the larger mounds. They had not the slightest knowledge of the economic use of metals, treating what little they had as a sort of malleable stone; even galena, which it seems impossible they could have without discovering its low melting point, is always worked, if worked at all, as a piece of slate or other ornamental stone would be. They left nothing to indicate that any system of written language existed among them, the few "hieroglyphics" on "inscribed tablets" having no more significance than the modern carving by a boy on the smooth bark of the beech, or else being deliberate frauds—generally the latter in the case of the more elaborate specimens. They had not a single beast of burden, unless we accept the "proof" offered—as convincing, indeed, as the usual run of "proof" in these matters—by a New York author, that they harnessed up mastodons and worked them. Beyond peddling

from tribe to tribe a few ornaments or other small articles that a man could easily carry or transport in a canoe, they had no trade or commerce.

Now, is there possible under such circumstances, anything in the nature of what may be called "civilization?" Can we conceive of a people as possessing even a slight degree of "culture," who are lacking in any of these particulars? We are accustomed to use these terms only in connection with those who are able to provide themselves with at least the ordinary comforts of life; and it is incumbent upon those calling the Mound Builders such, to produce some evidence in support of their assertion.

"The great magnitude of the works shows a numerous population distributed over a wide area, but all subject to one great central power, with kings, and chiefs, and high-priests, and laws, and established religious systems, and despotic power, and servile obedience, and"—Heaven only knows what all besides.

If the assumption upon which all this is based were correct, namely, that the various works scattered through the Mississippi Valley were occupied at one time by one people, there would be some probability of its truth; but the little that is definitely known points the other way—to distinct races of "Mound Builders" at widely separated periods of time.

I venture to say that the construction of all the aboriginal earthworks of every description within the limits of the State of Ohio did not require an amount of labor equal to that used in the excavation of the Erie and Miami canals. A close study of the enclosures leads to the conviction that the population was not numerous, except in the immediate vicinity; they were not necessarily built synchronously—in fact, some have the appearance of being of much more ancient date than others only a few miles distant. What their use may have been, has always been a very puzzling question, any conjecture finding

many difficulties to overcome. Among other suggestions is the plausible one that they were intended as a means of defense to the villages built within them. If this be the correct theory (which is not asserted) it can be readily understood that when the population of one of these villages increased to such a degree as to feel crowded, a portion would branch off and establish themselves at some convenient spot, where they would construct an enclosure or protective wall similar to that from which they had removed. It required no great haste; several years may have been spent in the work, the builders, meanwhile, returning temporarily to their old abode, should it become necessary.

Moreover, if the great center of all this power was within the southern half of Ohio (for the works at Newark are the most northern, as they are the most extensive of their kind, and the system of works and mounds stretches from them down to the Ohio by the tributary valleys), is it not strange that a "mighty nation" should build its principal fortifications and protective works in the interior, leaving the frontier exposed? Does not this go to show that they were *not* "numerous" and "mighty" and "far-reaching," but just the reverse, spreading out in peaceful times to a considerable distance, perhaps, but ready to retreat in case of danger to their great enclosures?

They were, no doubt, many thousands in number, but to suppose them to "equal or exceed in number those now living in the same region of country," is absurd.

The "kings," "priesthood," "religious systems," etc., result from the influence of a vivid imagination upon the desire to furnish an extraordinary and complicated explanation of a matter which the writers do not exactly understand.

The problem is difficult to solve when viewed in its simplest aspect, but well-nigh impossible if to the original question be added the mystery and nonsense in which so many are trying to envelop it.

"The works are constructed with mathematical accuracy; the squares are always exact squares, and the circles perfect circles."

This belief is based upon the statement to that effect by Squier and Davis, who furthermore proceed "to set all skepticism at rest" by stating that "the work was done by the authors in person." Squier was editor of a newspaper, Davis a physician, both in small country towns; their work was done with an old-fashioned worn-out "compass," borrowed from a surveyor in Chillicothe, who showed them how to use it. I give this on the authority of a gentleman who remembers the circumstance. No one has ever impugned Dr. Davis's honesty, but an article in a Chillicothe paper last spring, copied, I think, from the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*, gives Squier a reputation of being somewhat unreliable, and ready to make a sacrifice of truth when such action could be made to turn to his advantage; and we are justified in declining to believe them experts, or to accept their figures and plans without question, even though we may thereby bring down upon our heads the scathing epithet of "skeptic."

In their description of the works in Liberty Township, eight miles southeast of Chillicothe, they give field notes of what they claim to be a careful survey, in which twelve stations were established at regular intervals of three hundred feet, with a deflection of 30° at each, the last measurement bringing them to the starting point.

If this were correct, it might be conclusive, as it is not at all probable that in an irregular figure twelve points at equal intervals would fall on the circumference of a circle; and the assertion seems to have been accepted without question as applying to the smaller circle there described. But the diameter of this same circle is given as *eight hundred feet*; in other words, they have constructed a polygon with a perimeter of thirty-six hundred feet, and then managed to circumscribe it with a circle whose circumference is a little more than twenty-five hundred feet! And

this ridiculous thing has been used all these years as a proof of "mathematical accuracy." It seems incredible that so manifest an error should not only have gone uncorrected, but in addition been used to uphold a theory.

True, there is not a positive statement that this is the "circle" to which reference is made; but when we find it in the description of these works, and find a "supplementary plan" on the plate where they are figured, the inference is natural, and has been general, that this one is meant, especially as no other circle is anywhere described to which the measurements given will apply.

Nearly all the enclosures of Ohio and of the allied works of the Kanawha Valley, whose condition is such as to admit of it, have lately been very carefully surveyed, and not a single "exact square" or "perfect circle" has been found among them, though some of the works approach very closely to these forms. There is sufficient accuracy in some cases to make one wonder that the builders could have done as well as they did, but no evidence of any "calculation" beyond the mere sighting and measuring possible to any one. The "square" at the Hopeton works, for instance, has eleven sides with as many different bearings and angles, and not a right angle among them.

As the results of these surveys are the property of the Bureau of Ethnology, they can not be given here, and the reader must await the publication of the report containing them, to consult the facts and figures in this connection.

While Squier and Davis deserve great credit, and should always stand out foremost among those who have contributed to our knowledge of pre-historic America; while their numerous minor errors in regard to the geological features connected with the works must be excused, for the reason that in their time no one even knew there had been a glacial epoch in this section; while their energy and devotion to the cause in doing the work at their own expense and in the face of many difficulties, is deserving

of great praise; still, we must deplore the almost universal errors and mistakes that have resulted from their inability to do accurate work, or from their desire to make all plans and statements conform to a theory which they either constructed before completing their work or formulated when the results were collated, and which has been a stumbling block to archæologists ever since.

The many coincidences in lines, angles and areas disappear when transit and chain and careful methods are employed, and thus a great breach is made in the foundation upon which have been erected some wonderful theories.

While on this topic, it may be well to state that the celebrated "Graded Way" near Piketon, whose use has caused much speculation, is not a graded way at all in the sense usually employed. The point can not be made clear without a diagram, but the depression is simply an old waterway or "thoroughfare" of Beaver Creek, through which, in former ages, a portion of its waters were discharged, probably in times of flood. It is *not* just "1,080 feet in length," but reaches to the creek, nearly half a mile away. The artificial walls on either side are not "composed of earth excavated in forming the ascent," for the earth from the ravine or cut-off went down the Scioto before the the lower terraces were formed, but are made of earth scraped up near by and piled along the edge of the ravine, just as any other earth walls are made. The walls are of different lengths, both less than eight hundred feet in length along the top; neither do they taper off to a point, the west wall in particular being considerably higher and wider at the southern extremity, looking, when viewed from the end, like an ordinary conical mound. The earth in the walls thus built up, if spread evenly over the hollow between them, would not fill it up more than two feet, and that for less than a third of its length.

But to correct individual errors would require an entire number of the *QUARTERLY*.

"The great age of the mounds is shown by the fact that none are ever found on the lowest or latest formed terraces along our streams."

This is not true in regard to numerous localities in the Southern States; but, admitting it so far as Ohio is concerned, it would seem a very foolish proceeding to place the mounds or other structures on ground subject to frequent overflow when sites fully as desirable in other respects, and beyond the reach of floods, could be found a short distance away. By the same process of reasoning one might prove the "immense antiquity" of the farm houses along our rivers.

"Trees centuries old crown their tops."

How is it known they are centuries old? Size is no indication of age, for that depends mainly on soil and climate; there are groves in Ohio containing trees large enough to furnish saw-logs, that have grown up on what was called "prairie land," within the memory of men now living. The old theory of growth-rings must be abandoned, as it is proven beyond dispute that by alternations of wet and dry periods two, or even more, rings may form in one year. I have heard the assertion made by an intelligent man that a white pine required at least four hundred years to attain a diameter of twenty inches. This would allow only one-fortieth of an inch of growth-ring per year, but he wished to have it very old because it stood on the top of a mound.

There has been no satisfactory method yet discovered of settling this point, and until there has, there is but little use in trying to prove anything by it.

"That certain spots were densely populated, and that an extensive trade was carried on by the inhabitants, is shown by the works being most numerous where our large cities have sprung into existence."

There are certain laws governing the locations of towns

and cities, despite the general opinion that they spring up independently of all human calculations.

At first, pioneers were led to make their settlements where they could find fertile soil and good water; the Mound Builders, being agricultural and living in communities, were influenced by the same considerations. Next, the settlers, recognizing the advantages of navigation and the difficulties of overland travel in new countries, established their towns on rivers; the Mound Builders also would find it easier to travel in canoes. Finally, with improved methods of transit, cities take their rise at points offering the best facilities for the collection and distribution of goods; but the Mound Builder never got beyond the stage of the canoe, consequently only the question of soil and stream entered into his calculation.

In Ohio, Marietta, Portsmouth, Chillicothe and Newark are located upon the sites or in the immediate vicinity of the most extensive remains; and not even the most enthusiastic citizen of any of these towns will venture a comparison with Toledo, Columbus, Cleveland or Cincinnati, where the works, if they existed at all, were found only to a minor extent. The same holds true of all the area in which the ancient works are found; although thriving towns may exist coincident with the most intricate or wide-spread remains, yet the large cities are developed elsewhere. St. Louis may be considered an exception; but even here the great Cahokia group is on the opposite side of the river, where a city is impossible under present conditions.

"The earth of which mounds and other works is composed is usually clay, quite unlike the surrounding soil in color, and is apparently brought from distant or unknown localities."

The first part of the statement, namely, in regard to the color, is generally correct; but a wrong explanation is given of its cause. It is assumed that the earth is clay,

because it is of the same color; and it is further assumed that no clay is to be found in the neighborhood. But many mounds, even large ones, and a majority of the embankments, contain no clay, unless the term be applied to the clayey loam lying about them, or forming the sub-soil. If a mound be composed of soil scooped up evenly to a slight depth, it may be difficult to find after long cultivation; but when, as is usually the case, the earth is dug more deeply to furnish material, the sub-soil makes up the bulk of the mound, and its position is apparent at a glance, even when it is plowed to a level with the surrounding surface. Further, the soil around may become darker by the gradual accumulation of decaying vegetable matter, while the mound has its upper portion continually dragged toward the base by the plow and harrow and washed down by the rains, with the effect of having a fresh surface always exposed to view.

For several years I have paid close attention to this point, looking carefully for the source of material, and have yet to see a mound or embankment containing any sort of earth that may not be found within a few minutes' walk; generally it is to be found close at hand, either on the surface or at a slight depth beneath, and especially is this the case with works in glaciated areas, where very different sorts of earth may be found within a limited space.

It is a question which can be readily settled by any one who will take the trouble to dig a few holes about the base of any earthwork; he will be very apt to find that if he places earth from the work and from the hole side by side, he will be unable to distinguish one from the other.

"The Mound Builders were much beyond the average in size; in most of the skeletons the jaw-bone will easily slip over the face of a large man."

The lower jaw being somewhat V-shaped, narrowest at the chin, one may be very readily slipped over a man's face—as far as it will go; but the condyle will be apt to

stop on the cheek instead of going back to the corresponding part of the one on which it is placed. The proper test is to turn it upside down, and place it against the lower part of the jaw with which it is to be compared. The result will probably surprise the experimenter. Even should it prove to be somewhat larger, it may be only another example of the law that "use promotes growth," for long-continued mastication of coarse or tough food will tend to produce a greater development of the necessary organs.

In speaking of jaws, one naturally thinks of teeth, and is thus reminded of some mistakes in regard to them.

"Mound Builders' teeth are always very solid and perfect."

I have never yet found in a mound a skeleton with a full set of sound teeth; sometimes all the teeth remaining were sound, but some would be missing; again, the full number were in the jaw, but some were carious. The skull belonging to the skeleton of a man not past middle age, exhumed from a mound near Waverly, O., had only twenty-two teeth remaining, and of these, thirteen showed that they were more or less decayed before the death of the individual—some of them badly so. An error similar to this prevails in respect to the teeth of negroes, it being commonly supposed that they have very white, clean teeth, whereas such are more rare among them than among whites.

"They had double teeth [molars] all around, a peculiarity which separates them from all other races."

Fortunately for anatomists, the "double teeth" may be explained without overturning all systems of classification. Very many (not all) Mound Builders had prominent chins, which caused the incisors to meet squarely. This caused them to be worn off flat, and eventually brought the crowns of all the teeth down to about the same level. Physiognomists tell us this is indicative of a mild, benevolent dispo-

sition, while persons whose upper incisors overlap are cruel and bloodthirsty—the one being vegetarians and the others meat eaters.

“The amount of wear of the teeth shows they survived to an extreme old age.”

While this may be true under ordinary circumstances, it by no means follows in the case of the people who preceded us. There is nothing to show they had any better methods of preparing food than were in use by the later Indians; and a diet of parched corn, bread made from corn pounded in a stone mortar or with a stone pestle and baked in hot ashes, with meat cooked on coals or boiled in water heated by throwing in hot stones, would certainly furnish any set of teeth a good excuse for wearing out in an ordinary life-time.

“Specimens obtained from mounds have a beauty and artistic finish far beyond anything found on the surface or known to be fabricated by modern Indians.”

This is the great argument that is considered conclusive by those who do not know very much about specimens. It would imply that the Mound Builders never lost anything or left any specimens behind them save such as are found in the mounds, which would be inconsistent with the idea of a “numerous population,” unless we suppose that only those buried in the mounds possessed such property; and is on a par with the belief, almost too ridiculous to mention, and yet floating vaguely through the minds of a great many people, that the skeletons found in a mound are the remains of the individuals who erected it.

After a careful examination of many public and private collections, and two winters of close work in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution—which is admitted to be fairly representative of pre-historic art in this country—spent in preparing a paper on stone implements, I am utterly unable to decide between the two, except in such specimens as will deteriorate from exposure, but will be

well preserved when protected from atmospheric influences. For example, one may readily infer that an engraved shell, a perfect pot, or a sheet of mica came from a mound, or at least from a sheltered place; but for all articles made of stone there is no way of distinguishing one class from the other. The finest stone ax I ever saw in shape and finish was picked up on the surface; no arrow-points found in mounds can equal in delicate workmanship those made by the ignorant fish-eating tribes of Oregon; though of a different design, the mound pipes are in no way superior to some made by the Indians of to-day; the mound pottery is far inferior to that made by the Zunis. More than this, let any one make, from any collection, such selection as he wishes of undoubted mound specimens, and it will be easy to make a similar collection of surface finds so like them that it will be beyond the power of any one to assign with certainty each to its proper place. And this may be carried down to single specimens—always, of course, subject to the exception above indicated.

* * * A common error is to apply the name of "dart" or "arrow-head" to almost every sort of pointed flint implement, the larger ones being considered especially fitted for such use. So they might be if the propelling force were in ratio to the size; but there is a limit to the size of the bow which a man can draw, and with the same velocity a small arrow-point has a much greater penetrating power than a large one.

The so-called "rotary [beveled] arrow-heads" have been adduced as a proof that the aborigines had studied out the advantage of a rotary or "rifle" motion to a missile long before the whites had discovered it. There are two objections to this theory: First, with very few exceptions, such are not arrow-points at all, as they are too large for that use, but are probably skinning knives, for which purpose they are better adapted than almost any other form of stone implement can be; secondly, the shape of

the point has no effect upon the flight of the arrow anyhow, as has been proven by modern archers—the rifling, when desired, being accomplished by a spiral arrangement of the feathers at the other end of the shaft. At any rate, they could scarcely “tear and mangle the flesh of the victim,” as the rotary motion, allowing it to have been produced, must stop as soon as the point had penetrated the skin.

A theory has also been evolved concerning another common form of this class. The natural fracture of flint being conchoidal, a flake is commonly curved, and an arrow-point or knife hastily made from it may have the same shape or “twist.” But some of those who find a mysterious signification in everything pertaining to the subject, have discovered that the maker of such form of arrow-point knew that by having the convex side down when it left the bow the resistance of the air would give a constant upward impulse to the arrow, thus counteracting the force of gravity and allowing a flight of indefinite duration. Had that savage lived in our day, he would probably have invented a gun that would kill an enemy on the opposite side of a tree.

It has occurred to another author—the same, I think, who discovered that the Flathead Indians indulge in their peculiar practice in order that they may peep over logs and from behind trees without incurring the danger of having the tops of their heads shot off—that the curved or “twisted” flint is used for pointing fish-spears; one cast at the apparent position of a fish curving around to its real position and transfixing it—with surprise at such “mathematical accuracy,” perhaps.

* * * But as these minor matters could be multiplied almost indefinitely, let us drop them and consider next some of the many reasons that are given as to why the Mound Builders were not Indians, or *vice versa*.

“Indians, whose traditions go back for centuries, know nothing of the origin of the mounds.”

Heckwelder records a tradition of the Delawares to the effect that they came from a place far to the west, and after journeying for a long time came to a river, beyond which dwelt a people called the Tallegwi. These gave the Delawares permission to pass through their country, but when the migrating party had divided, the Tallegwi attacked that portion which had crossed the boundary river, and drove them with great slaughter. A long and bloody war followed; the Tallegwi made strong fortifications of earth and defended themselves with great bravery, but were gradually driven backward, building forts and other defenses as they went, until they finally passed beyond the Ohio. Heckwelder identifies the Detroit as the river where the two tribes met, and says that some of the defensive works of the Tallegwi were pointed out to him, as well as a mound, or mounds, beneath which lay the bones of some of the slain.

In the summer of 1887, at Munissing, Michigan, I met Mr. William Cameron, a man considerably above the average intellectually; he had been educated in France, and had retained through life a fondness for reading, which he indulged at every opportunity, being quite familiar with the works of Darwin, Huxley and others of that class. The attractions of the wilderness, however, had proven too great for him to resist, and for more than sixty years—being then eighty-four, though not appearing more than fifty years of age—he had almost literally lived in the woods. He lived for a time, at first, among the Chippewas, who told him that when they first came into the country, they found the Sioux in possession, and war was carried on with varying fortunes for several years. The Chippewas finally obtained a supply of fire-arms from the French, and drove the Sioux westward.

Afterward, Cameron went among the Sioux, and questioning the old chiefs, as was his custom with all Indian tribes he encountered, about their origin and history, he was told the same story. They added that in going west-

ward they came to a race of people who lived in mounds which they piled up. These people were large and strong, but cowardly. To use the Sioux expression, "if they had been as brave as they were big, between them and the Chippewas we would have been destroyed; but they were great cowards, and we easily drove them away."

Mr. B. G. Armstrong, of Ashland, Wisconsin, to whom I mentioned this story, said he had taken great pains to investigate it, and was satisfied of its truth. He added that from all he could gather, these people, whom the Sioux called Ground House Indians, built houses of logs and posts, around and over which they piled earth until it formed a conical mass extending several feet above the roof. He gave the limits of their territory, which, in the absence of my notes, I can not repeat accurately; but they extended from Lake Eau Claire, about thirty miles south of Lake Superior, to a point on the Wisconsin near Wausau or Stevens' Point; down that river a short distance; thence west into Minnesota, but how far he could not say; then around north of Yellow Lake to the Eau Claire region again. Some of the maps give a "Ground House River" in the eastern part of Minnesota. The Sioux exterminated the tribe, the last survivors being an old man, and woman who had married a Sioux; they were taken to the present site of Superior, near Duluth, where they died about two centuries ago.

Gordon, an Indian or half-breed, living at the railway station of the same name, a short distance south of Superior, was familiar with this tradition, as, indeed, many of the Chippewas were. Gordon says he has heard "the old men" say these Indians erected their houses of wood and piled several feet of dirt over them, and buried their dead in little mounds out in front of their houses, and a few hundred feet away. He told of a mound that was opened near Yellow Lake, in which the position of the skeletons, two or three of children being among them, showed as plainly as anything could, that the inmates had

been sitting or lounging around the fire, when the roof fell in and killed them.

I see no reason to doubt this tradition; Cameron and Armstrong are both held in high estimation, the latter having filled several responsible offices, and seen this country from New Brunswick to Mexico, and from Florida to Alaska; and I do not believe that either had the slightest idea of deception or "playing a trick;" they do not seem to be that sort of men. Gordon, too, spoke in the same way as he would in describing a piece of land, or any ordinary occurrence. At any rate, within the limits designated by Armstrong there are thousands of small mounds.

I give this story somewhat in full, as, so far as I know, it has never before been in print. Such men as I have named could give a vast amount of valuable and interesting matter concerning many things that should be known. They are getting old, and with them will perish much that might be preserved. But they must be seen and questioned; adventures like those of romance seem so commonplace in their experience that they do not consider them worth speaking of, unless urged to it.

But to return to our mound question.

The chroniclers of De Soto's expedition mention many villages of the Tchellakees [Cherokees] in which the houses stand on mounds erected by those people, and describe the method of their formation.

The French accounts of the Natchez Indians tell us that the King's house stood on a high mound, with the dwellings of the chiefs on smaller mounds about it: when a King died, his successor did not occupy the house of the deceased, but a new mound was erected on which he fixed his abode.

It is conceded by a majority of students that many, if not most, of the earthworks of Western New York and the adjacent portions of Ohio and Pennsylvania were

built by the Iroquois and allied tribes; even Squier admitted this toward the last.

Most readers are probably familiar with the account of the burial of a chief in a mound on the Missouri River, above Council Bluffs, about 1820.

At the foot of Torch Lake, near Traverse Bay, Michigan, are two mounds which an old Indian told me were erected, one by the Chippewas, the other by the Sioux, over their respective warriors slain in a fight near here about a century back.

Near the north line of Ogemaw County, in the same State, are some small mounds, built over their dead by the Indians who lived there until a few years since. Some lumbermen opened one of them some years ago, took out two skeletons, ran a pole up through the chest of each, to which they fastened the bones, and then tied them to a tree, with a piece of bread between the teeth of one, and an old pipe in the fleshless jaws of the other. The Indians soon discovered what had been done, and hunted several days for the desecrators of their kinsmen's graves, swearing to take their lives if they could find them.

A few other mounds in this section of country are said to have been put up by the Sioux, Chippewas and (one at least) by the Iroquois.

Many other instances could be cited if space allowed.

The Indians of the Ohio Valley may well have been ignorant on the subject, for most of the tribes found here by the whites had been in the country but a comparatively short time, and the earlier explorers of regions where mounds are found bothered themselves very little about the matter one way or the other, calling it all "Indian" alike.

Tradition is very unreliable at the best. How many people can tell the last previous place of residence of their ancestors, or how many know their grandmother's maiden name?

"Indians lived by hunting and fishing—upon the natural products of the forests and the waters; whereas, the Mound Builders were an agricultural people, subsisting mainly upon the products of the soil."

From the time of De Soto, down to the latest Indian wars of Ohio, the narratives of all expeditions or campaigns constantly allude to the soil products found at all permanent settlements or villages. De Soto's chronicles make frequent mention of the granaries belonging to every town; the early settlers of Virginia and New England were saved from starvation time and again by supplies obtained from the Indians; Generals Clarke, Wayne, and others, not to mention small marauding parties, burned or otherwise destroyed great quantities of corn, sometimes thousands of bushels on one raid or at one place; and yet even the very school histories that tell our children these things, go on droning over the tiresome assertion that Indians are now, and consequently always have been, lazy, dirty, stupid, and everything else they should not be, spending their time in hunting, loafing, or watching for a chance to hide behind a bush and shoot some passer-by with an arrow; and these are among the various reasons given by some of our writers why the Indians could not have been the authors of our aboriginal remains.

Admitting, for the moment, in full measure the worst that has been said of them, is the cause far to seek?

For four centuries they have been constantly subject to war with a superior foe, armed with weapons that made them irresistible; to new and strange diseases which they could neither combat nor understand; to continual enforced migrations in advance of a relentless despoiler. It is less a wonder that they should be what they are, than that they should continue to exist at all.

Four centuries ago, the Moors were the only civilized people of Europe; they fought long and suffered much, but when once expelled from their strongholds, warfare ceased; though compelled to leave the country, they

were not molested further, and an opportunity was offered them to retrieve their fortunes in another land. But war against the Indians has known no cessation; whether by arms or by treaties, they have been kept constantly on the losing side. Yet when we compare the two, are not the Moors now much further below their former condition than the Indians are below the highest culture that may reasonably be attributed to the Mound Builders?

Let us compare what is known about the Indians with what may be considered settled in regard to the Mound Builders.

Does it require any greater energy or forethought to build one of our enclosures, than to plan and execute war or hunting expeditions that may last for months and extend hundreds of miles? Is there any more labor involved in raising a bushel of corn than in running down a deer? Is more endurance or fortitude required in building a mound than in fasting, or dancing, or suffering great privation and exposure for days and nights in succession? Can the Indian who, at the death of a chief or relative, destroyed property which he knew would require days or even weeks of labor to replace, be more justly called "lazy" than he who piled up a few yards of earth on a similar occasion? There is no reason for supposing that a mound was built in a short period of time, or that only a limited number took part in the work. I have opened mounds which showed beyond question that work on them had been suspended at some stage until at least one full season had elapsed, and had then been renewed; and if a whole tribe lament the death of a chief at this day, and take part in the funeral exercises, why need we suppose it was different at a time when it was the custom to erect mounds over the dead?

Among some of the modern tribes, it is customary when a feast is held at the close of a fishing, or sugar-making, or hunting season, to offer a portion of whatever they may have at the graves of such of their tribe as may be buried

in the vicinity, and to decorate them in such way as they can, even though the interments may have taken place many years previously ; would it be any greater mark of respect or affection to add little by little to a mound under which one of their tribe was buried ?

Will any one possessing the slightest knowledge of the power of hereditary influences, pretend that a Logan, a Corn Planter, a Red Jacket, or a host of other illustrious men could be possible among a stupid and indolent people ?

Could the brain that devised a conspiracy like Pontiac's, reaching over hundreds of miles of wilderness, completed to the smallest details under difficulties that would be insurmountable to many of our modern statesmen, kept secret from the enemy until time for the blow to fall, and failing at the last moment only from circumstances unforeseen and beyond control of the directing spirit—could such a mind be incapable of planning the defensive works of the Mississippi Valley ?

Can anyone suppose the largest and most complicated of these works—even allowing them to be the outcome of a definite, pre-arranged plan, which seems altogether improbable—overtax the mental powers of Tecumseh who almost succeeded in perfecting a confederacy among many tribes indifferent or hostile to one another, and extending from the lakes to the gulf ?

Can men like these originate and mature in the midst of ignorance and degradation such as most writers picture for the Indian ? Is it likely that a people so energetic in war and the chase, could be so inert in all other directions ? Does such literature take its models from the Iroquois Confederation, the Muskogees, the present inhabitants of the Indian Territory, or from the drunken, diseased outcasts of frontier towns, and the predatory nomads of the West ? In telling of our own civilization, does an author describe the whining beggar, the spiritless pauper in our alms-houses, the tramp on the highway, the clay-eaters of

the South, the toughs of our large cities, the desperadoes in temporary Western towns? Suppose he should, and then say that the "cities and railroads could not have been built by such;" would the statement be considered worthy an argument?

Granting that an Indian did but little work, as we use the word, why should he do more than sufficed to supply his temporary needs? If he produced a surplus of food, what could he do with it? He had no way of conveying it to others at a distance, and if he had, his neighbor raised for himself what he needed in that line; so who would take it? His productions were not of a nature to be long preserved; why should he have them accumulate only to spoil on his hands? It would appear more like an intelligent use of labor to stop when one has enough, than to strive further for what can only go to waste when obtained.

* * * Great stress is laid on the fact that in the same mound may be found "mica from North Carolina, copper from Lake Superior, shells from the Gulf of Mexico, and obsidian from the Rocky Mountains," and this is supposed to indicate, in some undefined way, superior power and intelligence. Cameron says that the Chippewas informed him they formerly carried copper to the south and east to exchange for such small articles as the other Indians in those directions had for barter, going sometimes as far as the coast of Virginia. On inquiring of them whether the "old Chippewas"—that is, those of previous generations—had worked the ancient mines, he was told they had not; that the mines were there before the Chippewas came into the country, and the latter obtained their supplies by gathering up fragments where they could find them, or by chipping off pieces with their hatchets from the "nuggets" or "boulders" that were to be found in various places. It does not follow that a piece of obsidian or catlinite, for example, found in a mound, was brought from its native place by its last owner; such things pass from place to

place in course of trade, and may thus be carried many hundred miles.

In conclusion, what single item of *proof* has ever been offered of this fancy superiority of the Mound Builder to the Indian? What do we know, or what can we infer, of the one that may not be equally true of the other? What evidence has been produced to show that they are not the same people, whose habits of life have become modified to the extent only that they have ceased, in recent times, to build earthworks on a large scale? Or if we grant they are a "lost people," in no wise akin to the Indians, what is there to show that they were in the slightest degree in any particular the superiors of the Indians of New York and Georgia a hundred years ago?

A man is not required to disprove another's assertion; it is in order, therefore, for the advocates of a "different nation" to give a reason for the faith that is in them.

The truth of the matter probably is, that all this misconception is due to the readiness of the people to accept notoriety and bombast for authority and learning; to believe the false, rather than the true, so long as it appeals strongly to their love of the marvelous.

And this credulity is, in turn, fostered and encouraged by shrewd empirics who see in it something that may be worked to their own advantage; or stimulated by the honest but mistaken enthusiast who wishes to believe, and to have others believe, that these mounds of earth indicate for ancient America a dominion and glory like that shadowed forth by the stupendous ruins of half-forgotten empires of the East.

GERARD FOWKE, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

THE PRESERVATION OF DOCUMENTS.

ONE of the earlier issues of the *QUARTERLY* contained timely suggestions regarding the preservation of old documents, letters and memoranda relating to our early history. There has, also, been no little discussion on this question elsewhere, notably in the American Historical Association. The result has been to awaken an interest in such articles, and a search in old trunks, in garrets, and in other such receptacles incident to our American domestic life. At the late Ohio Centennial at Columbus, a number of old, and in some instances, very valuable letters, papers and documents were placed in my hands for exhibition in the Department of History and Archæology. Among these a number of letters and papers, chiefly military in character, were left by Mr. K. B. Swearingen, of Circleville, whose ancestors were somewhat prominent in early colonial history, his grandfather being an officer in the Virginia troops, of which colony the family were early residents. In the publication of these, but little explanation can be said. They are fragmentary in nature, relate to the wars of that period, and cannot, in all cases, be as well edited as is desired, owing to a lack of information necessary to do so. They are, however, valuable for the "side-lights," so to speak, they reflect on the current history of that time, and they will be printed, with many other such documents, as space in the *QUARTERLY* will permit, with such notes as can be gathered to explain them.

The first, and oldest document, is a "bill of sale," as follows:

To all Persons to Whom these Presents shall Come

Know ye that I Jeremiah Crabb of Prince George County In the Province of Maryland for and In Consideration of the Sum of Seventy Eight Pounds three Shillings Currant money of Maryland to me in hand Paid by Van Swearingen of Frederick County In Virginia the Rec't whereof I hereby acknowledge, have Given, Granted, Bargained, Sold and Set over and by

these Presents do give grant Bargain Sell and Set over unto the Said Van Swearingen one Negro Lad Called Harry and also one negro Girl Called Sal aged about thirteen years Each To have and to hold the Said Negro Lad and Negro Girl unto the Said Van Swearingen his heirs and assigns forever and the Said Jeremiah Crabb doth hereby Covenant and agree to and with the Said Van Swearingen that he the Said Jeremiah Crabb his heirs Exec.r.s and Admrs Said Negro Lad and Girl (unto the Said Van Swearingen his heirs and Assigns) against all Persons Claiming by from or under him or them Shall and will warrant and forever defend For Witness whereof the Said Jeremiah Crabb hath hereunto Set his hand and affixed his Seal (torn off) Novr. Anno Domo 1755

JERE CRABB

This is endorsed as follows:

Novr. 28th, 1755

Rec'd of Mr. Van Swearingen Seventy Eight Pounds three Shillings Currant money of Maryland being in full for the within mentioned.

JERE CRABB

The next is a letter dated

HEADQUARTERS 30th Sept. 1778

My dear Bedinger:

I had some chat with Major Beatty Commissary General of Prisoners a few Days since, on the Subject of your exchange, he informed me that nothing could possibly detain you except the want of a little hard Cash—was I certain of the sum would now send it you—however I have wrote to Mr. Nicholas Hoffman in N York to supply you shou'd you be in want, & I will repay him instantly on transmitting me your Receipt—make inquiry for him so soon as this reaches you & show it him—I am certain he will advance any reasonable sum—you must inquire for Mr. Nicholas Hoffman late Brewer he married a Daughter of old Judge Ogden late of Newark, & now in N York or at Doctor Ogdens Jamaica Long Island.

So soon as you are released hasten to me at Brunswick near Abbots Town being now under way to visit Mrs Clark & my little Daughter—Shou'd the fortune of War still prove cruel to you, & not permit us to have an interview 'till a more convenient season; I beseech you to pay a strict regard to your parole I never deviate from the paths of *honor & virtue*. The former, is the peculiar characteristic of *an officer* & consequently, all his Actions should be governed by it, but why shou'd I tresspas on the feelings of a Soldier with a repetition of what he already knows, I am sure you will excuse me when you know I wish to see you respected by *your Enemies* as well as friends, All your acquaintances are well, & many of them making great fortunes—This day I dined with Col: Otho H. Williams Jr he wishes to see you: make my most respectful Compliments to all your brother officers in Captivity & Mr Johnston & his Daughter at Graves-End—God bless you my dear Harry & believe me your affect

Lieu Henry Bedinger

JNO. CLARK JUN.

Col Rawlings Regt. Virginia

This letter is endorsed :

LIEUT HENRY BEDINGER¹

Captive on

Long Island

Recommended to the care of Joshua Loving by Commy Genl of Prisoners.

The following Minutes of the Council are signed by "Arch. Blair C. C." who was of one of the prominent Virginia families. He was a resident of Williamsburg, and is noticed in the "Virginia Calendar" as "Dr. Archibald Blair." Rev. James Blair, one of the founders of William and Mary College, and its first President, was also a resident of Williamsburg. The accompanying "Minute" explains itself.

IN COUNCIL, June 8th, 1780.

The Governor laid before the board the resolution of the General Assembly of May 27th 1780 and a Letter from the Lieutenants of the Northwestern Counties beyond the blue ridge on the plan of defence for the Western frontier most eligible at present which together with the Letter formerly written or received, on the same subject the board proceeded to take into consideration and thereupon advise the Governor to direct that posts be taken at the mouths of little Kanhaway, Gr Kanhaway, Sandy & Licking; that the little Kanhaway be garrisoned with so many of the militia from the Counties of yohogania, monongalia, & ohio as the County Lieutenants of those Counties shall think proper to be furnished proportionally from their militia; that Gr Kanhaway² be garrisoned with 164 men, Sandy with 100 & Licking with 200. that for these purposes 254 militia be raised from the following Counties and in the following proportion viz Botetourt 22, Rockbridge 18, Green briar 16, Augusta 43, Rockingham 15, Frederick 30, Hampshire 30, Berkeley 30 & Kentucky 50, that the Garri-

¹ Lieut Henry Bedinger is mentioned in the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, p. 396, in the following words: "The Memorial of Cpts. Saml: Finley and Nathl: Pendleton, and Lieut: Henry Bedinger, having been referred to the Committee of Trade, Mr. Richd: Lee reported from said Committee that the Memorialists had been prisoners of War for Years in New York, during which time they had Contracted debts to the amount of fifty pounds in Specie, and had only received supplies to the amount of eighty pounds in Virginia Currency; and that they had not received the Tobacco allowed them by Resolution of the Assembly—whereupon it was declared that the Memorial was reasonable, and the Executives were instructed to take proper measures for the relief of the Memorialists."

² Great Kanawha River now in West Virginia, originally, in the Shawnee, "Ka-na-wha"—i. e. *New Water*.

son at Gr Kanhaway be composed of militia from Hampshire, Frederick, Berkeley, Rockingham Augusta & GreenBriar, that at Sandy of Militia from Rockbridge and Botetourt & a detachment from Colo. Crockets battalion, & that at Licking of the residue of Colo. Crockets battalion, & the militia from Kentucky, that a post be taken at Kelley's on the Gr Kanhaway to be garrisoned with twenty six men from the County of Shenandoah—that these militia remain in service until relieved from their respective Counties, that the whole of these Garrisons be subject to the order of Colo. Clarke,¹ and that it be recommended to him to draw from them from time to time when circumstances shall render it proper so many as are not essentially necessary for the preservation of their post with such Volunteers as he may engage & proceed on such active enterprises against the Indians & particularly the Shawanese as the force shall be adequate to—

They also advise that a post be taken at or near Martins Cabbins in Powells valley to be garrisoned with 30 militia from the County of Washington & 20 from the County of Montgomery to continue until relieved in like manner as the former Garrisons—that so soon as Colo. Crocket battallion be ready to march he be directed to proceed by the way of the Great Kanhaway.

(A Copy)

ARCH: BLAIR C. C.

The following letters or orders are from General Thomas Nelson, Jr., at one time Governor:

STANTON June 22nd, 1781.

Sir The army being in Extreem want of Provisions and Spirits I must beg you will Interest yourself in a perticular Manner to have the Beef, Flour and Spirits Collected by the Commissioners of your County and conveyed to Camp. I rely on your Exertions to put this busyness in motion; wch. must be done by Impressng Waggons for the purpose you are too good a Whig and too well acquainted with the Absolute Necessaty of keeping an Army well Supplied to require a word more on this Subject. I beg you will Order as many of the Malitia of your County as the Commissioners may think is Necessary to Drive the Beeves Forward, it is Absolutely Necessary or the Difficulty will be very Great in getting them to the Army.

I am Sir Your Obt Serv.

THOS NELSON JR.

County Lt. of Berkeley.

STAUNTON 26th June 1781.

Sir The time of service of the militia from your County being nearly expir'd, I beg you will send forward a relief immediately taking care that the relief be equal in numbers to the detachment first sent into the field.

To prevent the necessity of giving particular orders when the Militia are to be reliev'd in future, I wish you to consider the space of two months as a tour of duty and direct your militia accordingly, observing always to keep up the number first ordered. I am Sir Yr. Mo. ob. servant

258 Men

THOS NELSON JR.

¹ Colonel, afterwards General Geo. Rogers Clarke.

RICHMOND, July 31 1781.

Sir. The Harvest being over, I hope the Militia, which have been ordered into service from your County, will take the field with the greatest alacrity. There never was a time when vigorous measures were more necessary, or where they promised greater advantages.

Every exertion will be made by the Enemy, if not to subdue, to gain posts in this country, And a successful opposition on our part, which the strength of the States is very capable of making, by frustrating their expectations, will in all probability together with this Campaign put a happy period to the war. I am Sir Yr. mo. ob servant,

THOS NELSON JR.

Each of the foregoing is endorsed—

Public Service

County Lieutenant of Berkeley

WAR OFFICE Aug. 10. 81.

Sir Yours of the 3d ult. addressed to his Excellency the Governor¹ was referred to me. The impressment of the waggons was a pernicious event, that no doubt will prove injurious unless put an end to: yet it is difficult to adopt a plan that will not be attended with some inconveniences. The circumstances of exemptions for their waggons & teams from impressment and the persons of the drivers from militia duty, are undoubtedly, in time of war, privileges of value, for which government should be entitled to derive some advantages, either by lower wages or longer engagements to serve the public than are required or agreed to by the common run of persons following the business of waggoning. It does not appear from your letter that any such abatement of price or length of engagement has ever been made. In the present state of the treasury it is dangerous to make an engagement for punctual payment, as it may possibly be attended with disappointment, and the public faith be injured. Yet it is essentially necessary that the provision should be regularly transported. Under these circumstances of difficulty on the one hand and necessity on the other, I submit it to your consideration and beg a speedy information whether waggoners, with their waggons and teams could not be engaged in the public service for a term not less than six months, and whether a part of their pay might not be secured by occasional and advantageous sales of such parts of the specifics as may be most likely to spoil or can be most easily spared. I beg you would consult with your two delegates on this head. At present I think from your representation of Mr McAllister's successor it is not likely to be followed with much advantage to empower *him* to grant exemptions, and perhaps it might occasion some confusion for any other than the Commissary to have this power. I am sorry for the injudicious appointment Brown has made; but the whole department is totally deranged and must immediately be put upon another footing. I expect to see Brown in a short

¹ Thomas Jefferson.

time, and shall represent to him the impropriety of his conduct, and have the matter remedied without delay.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient servt.

WILLIAM DAVIES.¹

Col Swearingen

FREDERICKSBURG January 13th 1781

Sir From the information which came to hand Yesterday, it appears that the enemy's Fleet have proceeded down James River to Hampton road. The conjectures relative to their destination are so various, that it is hard to say whether or no they will attempt anything further against the State at this time. However, Mr. Hunters works at this place are an object of great consequence to us, their destruction would prove a capital to the State; it was thought necessary to form a body of Troops sufficient to prevent any attempt upon them—The Militia from the neighboring Counties have turn'd out with so much Spirit, That we have now nearly a sufficient number to oppose any attempts the enemy can make, with their present force against this place—And as we do not wish to put the militia to any unnecessary Trouble I wish those from Fredk. Berkeley & Shannadoc may remain in their respective Counties untill further orders from General Weedon or myself—I would nevertheless beg leave to recommend to those Counties to Send on a few well arm'd & active Riflemen who would be of the Greatest service should the enemy come into Potomack—perhaps a Volunteer Compy from each of the Counties would be sufficient.

The Commanding officer of the Frederick Militia is requested to communicate this letter by Express to the County Lieutenants of Berkeley and Shannadoc. I am Sir with respect Your Most obt Hble Servt.

P. MUHLENBERG,² B G.

a Copy superscrib'd To the Command officers of Frederick Berkeley & Shannadoc. Peter Muhlenberg, B. G.

This letter is endorsed as follows :

(On Public Service.)

Express.

The Commanding Officer of Berkeley.

FREDERICKSBURG 7 May: 1781.

Dear Sir—The Marquis La Fayette having order'd me here to assemble a defence for the protection of Potowmac River, & to stop all the Men coming from the back Counties for that purpose, I am a little alarmed at seeing those already arrived come down so badly Armed, as it is not in my power at present to put Guns into their Hands. As the number now on their way I understand are greatly deficient of the Governour's Call

¹ Col. William Davies was a gallant soldier, serving his country faithfully at this period of the Revolution. His correspondence to Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, part of which has been published, throws much light on the privations of the soldiers.

² Commander of the Virginia Regiment, afterwards a general.

from your County, I must request you will use your utmost exertions to send forward the remainder, & I beg you to take every method in your power to arm them before they march.—Not a moment is to be Lost as from every account we have reason to expect the Enemy in this Quarter. I remember on the first of the Invasion no County was more alert than yours, nor none took the Field better equipped. The Riflemen, & C. still in the County & I am not a little surprized they should be held up at this important Crisis, & as it is the Marquis's desire a respectable Body of Riflemen should be formed at this Place hope to have your assistance in this desirable Business.

The men that come forward had better be mounted for the sake of Expedition.

I am
With Esteem
Your mo obt Servt

G WEEDON¹ B G.

This letter is endorsed :

Public Service.
The Officer Commanding the
Militia in Berekeley
County.

Dear Sir—I have received Positive Instructions from the Board of War, and from the Marquis La Fayette to remove the German Troops Immediately Northwardly, and to call upon the State of Virginia for Guards of Militia to go with them as far as York Town. I am therefore to request that you will have 150 Militia with their Proper Officers at Shephards Town On Friday Evening, who are to put themselves under the Command of Colo. Taylor I must likewise Beg that you will Direct the Commissioners of the Provision Law to Lay in at Least three thousand Rations of Provisions, and Forage for about forty Horses for three or Four Days. I am

Dr Sir
Y'r.
Very Obt. Servt.

WINCHESTER 5th June 1781.

JAMES WOOD² Col. Com.

The letter is endorsed as follows :

Public service.
Colonel Van Swearingen
or Officer Commanding the
Militia of
Berkeley.

¹ Brig.-Gen. George Weedon was called into the patriot service January 17, 1780, by resolution of the Council of Virginia. At the same time Col. Daniel Morgan was called. Both were made subject to orders of General Gates.

²Col. James Wood was the founder of Winchester, Virginia, and was one of the early settlers of Virginia. His son, probably the writer of the foregoing letter, was also a Colonel, and served as Governor of Virginia.

COUNCIL CHAMBER August 21. 1782.

Sir You will receive Directions from the Commissioner of war to hold 175—men of your Militia in constant readiness to march at the shortest warning: this order takes its rise from information just recd from the Continental Secretary at War that an attack is expected on Fort Pitt, the loss of which post will so materially affect our fellow citizens in the back Country that no arguments can be necessary to stimulate you or your Militia to exertion if the Fort should be invested. General Edward Stevens is appointed to the Command of the Troops ordered out, who will give you Directions where to rendezvous your men if they should be wanted, and will forward the necessary marching orders. I refer you for more particular instructions to the Commissioner of War and am

Sir

Your most obedt

Servant

BENJ HARRISON.¹

The letter is endorsed:

on public Service.
The County Lieutenant
or Commanding Officer
of Berkeley.

The following document is in print, and is one of several issued at that time. It explains itself. It is addressed to—

“Colo Van Swearingen”

Berkeley

RICHMOND, FEBRUARY 21, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM requested by the Officers of the Virginia Line to affit them in negotiating the Certificates which they receive from the Auditors, for their Pay and Subfiftance, in consequence of an Act of laft Affembly.

The distrefs of many of the Officers and the prefont scarcity of Money, is fuch, that the Certificates which thofe Gentlemen have received for pafst Services, will be rendered of little value, unlefs timely affiftance is afforded by their fellow Citizens.

In a fhort Time thofe Certificates will be equal to the Specie, and all that is now required, is a Loan of Specie or Tobacco upon them, which will bear an Intereft of Six per cent. till paid.

The Inhabitants of Richmond and Peterfburg, in two Days, fubfcribed one thoufand pounds in Specie and Tobacco, for the Certificates of a number of Officers under marching orders to join General Greene, which was

¹Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was uncle to Gen. William Henry Harrison. The Harrison family were early residents of Virginia, and are conspicuous in the history of that commonwealth.

to those Gentlemen a seasonable relief. I cannot doubt but the same public spirit and liberality of sentiment will be found general, especially if it be encouraged by your example and influence.

I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing to you a Subscription Paper, for the purpose of raising as much Specie or Tobacco as you can, upon the Officers and Soldiers Certificates. So soon as those Subscriptions are completed and the Tobacco and Specie received, I shall pay the same to Commissioners appointed by the Officers, that a dividend may be made in just and equal proportion.

The Subscribers will be pleased to appoint one of their number, to receive a Certificate for the sum each person pays, which I engage shall be delivered, or any other mode that is in my power shall be adopted for their security and satisfaction.

The Gentlemen hereafter mentioned, are appointed Agents at the several Places mentioned against their Names, and you will please to forward the Subscriptions to one of them when you are done with it, together with what may be received in consequence of it, and any instructions you may think proper to give, will be attended to.

I have the honour to be, with great regard,
Your very humble Servant.

DAVID ROSS.

Samuel Beall, Esq; Williamsburg. Mess. Shore and M'Connico, Peterburg, Hunter, Banks, & Co. Richmond. James Maury and Benjamin Day, Fredericksburg. James and Adam Hunter, Falmouth. Hunter and Allison, Alexandria. Carter Braxton, Esq; West Point. John Syme, Esq; New Castle.

NB. It would be proper to receive no subscriptions but such as can be depended upon.

These will be continued in the next issue of the QUARTERLY, when unpublished letters of Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and others will be published.

A. A. GRAHAM.

NULLIFICATION IN OHIO.

TWELVE years before the famous resistance of South Carolina to Federal authority, the State of Ohio, through the solemn acts of her Legislature, attempted and succeeded for a time, to nullify the laws of the United States, and to disobey the decisions of her courts. It was not merely a legislative nullification, but it was a complete destruction of Federal standing within the State. The United States Courts and the United States Banks were denied the immunities and obedience of the law. The writs of the former were ignored, and protection to the latter refused. Why and how it was done cannot fail to interest the student of political affairs, for, in addition to being interesting to the general reader, it is a piece of buried and forgotten history. And it detracts nothing from the great fame of the Buckeye State, now blushing in the pride and brilliancy of her first Centennial, to revive the memory of her early and only political sin. It is three score years and ten since the rebellious fallacy of State sovereignty manifested itself in Ohio, and whatever evil impressions it left behind have been sufficiently expiated and erased by a subsequent record of unsurpassed loyalty and purest patriotism. The State that in 1820 supported and practiced the principles of the resolutions of 1798, has since loyally stood by the Federal Government in two wars, furnished more than three hundred thousand men to suppress a rebellion urged to maintain the spirit of those resolutions; and has given to the nation and the world the three greatest generals of that war.

The principles of Jefferson were injected into Ohio politics very early. While President, he had removed General Arthur St. Clair from the Governorship of the Northwest Territory, more on account of his pronounced Federalism than for anything else. It is a well known historical fact that the enemies of St. Clair were all enthusiastic followers

of Jefferson, and reported to their chief every political speech of the distinguished Governor. The Virginia settlers and most of the Pennsylvanians who migrated numerously to the young State were anti-Federalists or Democratic-Republicans. The pioneers of Marietta and the Western Reserve were Federalists in politics, but few in numbers, and so powerful was the early Democracy, both in numbers and influence, that Edward Tiffin, the first Governor and Democrat of Ohio, was elected to that position without opposition. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., writing of the Federalists from Marietta, after the election, said, "Such was their obstinacy that (knowing they could not carry a Federal Governor) they would not vote for Governor at all, but threw in blank tickets."¹ This refusal to participate in the election, when the prospects were hopeless, was almost general throughout the State. From these facts it can be seen that Ohio was a natural soil for the sowing and development of the State Rights Doctrine of the Jeffersonian Democracy. It was a thing to be expected that a State politically constituted as Ohio was in 1819, should display a bitter and partisan opposition to the United States Bank, which, having been re-chartered in 1816, proceeded to establish its branches in the various States. In January, 1817, a branch was located at Cincinnati, and in October of the same year another was opened at Chillicothe. Immediately the leaders of the Democracy, with a recollection that Alexander Hamilton, the prince of Federalists, had fathered the national bank, commenced the fight that led to an open and avowed indorsement of nullification, and which finally invoked the machinery of Ohio law against the fiscal agent of the United States Treasury. The political leaders were joined by the beggarly and borrowing private banks of that day; they were the "wild cat" banks of a later date in embryo. They formed the moneyed aristocracy of the State, and owned many a rotten borough, for in those days of bank

¹ The St. Clair Papers. Wm. Henry Smith. Vol. 1, p. 247.

excitement they had a great deal to do with saying who should go to the Legislature, as well as who should remain at home. They railed at the bank with all the venom of political opponents and the commercial rancor of business rivals. Filled with the spirit of the silversmiths of Ephesus against Paul,¹ they cried that under the new financial regime "our craft is in danger to be set at naught."

The war on the United States Bank commenced in 1817, when, in December of that year, the Legislature appointed a committee to inquire into the expediency of taxing any branches of that Bank which might be established in the State. It was the purpose to drive them out of Ohio with the strong and resistless whip of taxation. Although this committee reported against it, the Lower House reversed the report, and at the next session, February 8, 1819, the Legislature passed a law taxing the United States Bank, prefacing it with a preamble declaring that the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States have established two offices of discount and deposit in this State, at which they transact banking business, by loaning money and issuing bills in violation of the laws of this State; it was, therefore, provided that the Bank of the United States shall pay a tax of fifty thousand dollars per annum upon each office of discount and deposit at which they commence or continue to transact banking business within this State."¹ To the Auditor of State was committed the duty of collecting this tax. He was given the power to appoint a collector, who was conferred with extraordinary powers for the purpose of collecting the tax. It was made his duty "to go into each and any room, or vault of such banking house, and every closet, chest, box or drawer in such banking house to open and search." With this limitless right of search, he was authorized to take as much money from the places mentioned as would pay the tax. No such law was ever passed by any other State before or since. It was called the "crow-bar law" from the weapon

¹ Chase's Statutes of Ohio. Vol. 2, p. 1072.

used in its execution. It was passed in response to unmistakable popular demands, partisan of course. Prior to the date on which the law was to take effect, which was fixed on the 1st of September, 1819, the banks filed a bill in chancery before the Circuit Court of the United States sitting at Chillicothe, against the Auditor of State, and obtained in that Court an order of injunction prohibiting him from collecting the tax. Briefly stated, the order of the Court was disregarded, the injunction ignored, and, as if no legal proceedings had been had, the collectors of the Auditor broke into the bank at Chillicothe, forcibly entered the vault, and carried off \$100,000 in gold, silver and notes. This was paid over to the State Treasurer, and by him passed to the credit of the State as revenue from taxes. This act caused the greatest excitement throughout the State. It was an open defiance of the settled law of the Union. Some time before this forcible levy upon the property of the Bank, the very same question as to the right to tax a branch of the United States Bank, had been determined by the highest tribunal of law in the country. The officers of Ohio and the party leaders knew it, and what they did was done in open contempt of the Supreme Court, as the former act had been in contempt of the Circuit Court.

The case of *McCullough vs. the State of Maryland*¹ was an exact parallel to the Ohio situation. The Legislature of Maryland, February 18, 1818, passed a law taxing the branches of the United States Bank in that State. The case, involving a constitutional question of vast importance, was decided soon after, at the February term of the Supreme Court, 1819. The whole ground was carefully gone over by the Court, and an elaborate opinion delivered by Chief Justice Marshall. Concerning the gravity of the question involved, he said in the opening of his decision:

"In the case now to be determined, the defendant, a sovereign State, denies the obligation of a law enacted by

¹ See 4 Wheaton's Reports, p. 316.

the Legislature of the Union, and the plaintiff, on his part, contests the validity of an act which has been passed by the Legislature of that State."

McCullough was the cashier of the United States Bank. Continuing, the Chief Justice said:

"The Constitution of our country, in its most interesting and vital parts, is to be considered; the conflicting powers of the government of the Union and its members, as marked in that Constitution, are to be discussed; and an opinion given which may essentially influence the great operations of the government. No tribunal can approach such a question without a deep sense of its importance, and of the awful responsibility involved in its decision."

Proceeding then to a thorough and learned discussion of the powers of the States and the Government, especially in relation to the Bank, the Court solemnly declared:

"After the most deliberate consideration, it is the unanimous and decided opinion of this Court that the act to incorporate the Bank of the United States is a law made in pursuance of the Constitution, and is a part of the supreme law of the land.

It was further decided that,

"The Bank of the United States has, constitutionally, a right to establish its branches or offices of discount within any State."

"The State, within which such branch may be established, cannot, without violating the Constitution, tax that branch.

"The State Governments have no right to tax any of the constitutional means employed by the Government of the Union to execute its constitutional powers.

"The States have no power, by taxation or otherwise, to retard, impede, burthen or in any manner control the operations of the constitutional means enacted by Congress to carry into effect the powers vested in the National Government."¹

It was in the face and knowledge of this decision that the Jeffersonian authorities collected their tax. It was open and absolute nullification. Again did the Banks ap-

¹ This principle, by the terms of the decision, did not apply to tax on the real estate of the Bank, or the interest therein held by individuals.

peal to the United States Courts, by securing the arrest and imprisonment of the tax collectors who made the seizure at Chillicothe. They further secured an order of the Circuit Court sequestrating the money in the treasury of Ohio until the final decision of the Court. Thwarted in the courts, the nullifiers turned to the Legislature. The report of the Auditor of State concerning the proceedings which had occurred since the last session, was referred to a joint committee of the House and Senate. On December 12, 1820, an elaborate report justifying the act of the past year, and denouncing the decision of the Supreme Court in the McCullough case was presented by the joint committee.¹ It was called a "manufactured" case, a decision obtained through a "maneuver of consummate policy." It recommended the ignoring of the decision altogether. The committee quoted precedents to justify their advice. With suggestive appropriateness the case of President Jefferson withholding a commission from a justice of the peace of the District of Columbia in defiance of the Supreme Court, was referred to. Said the committee in their report:

"In the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that William Marbury was entitled to his commission as justice of the peace for the District of Columbia; that the withholding of this commission by President Jefferson was violative of the legal vested right of Mr. Marbury. Notwithstanding this decision, Mr. Marbury never did obtain his commission; the person appointed in his place continued to act; his acts were admitted to be valid, and President Jefferson retained his standing in the estimation of the American people. The decision of the Supreme Court proved to be totally impotent and unavailing.

"So in the case of *Fletcher vs. Peck*, the Supreme Court decided that the Yazoo purchasers from the State of Georgia were entitled to the lands. But the decision availed them nothing, unless as a make-weight in effecting a compromise.

¹ See House Journal of XIXth (Ohio) General Assembly, p. 98.

“These two cases are evidence that in great questions of political rights and political powers, a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is not conclusive of the rights decided by it. If the United States stand justified in withholding a commission, when the Court adjudged it to be the party’s right; if the United States might, without reprehension, retain possession of the Yazoo lands, after the Supreme Court decided that they were the property of the purchasers from Georgia, surely the State of Ohio ought not to be condemned because she did not abandon her solemn legislative acts as a dead letter upon the promulgation of an opinion of that tribunal.”

With the same specious reasoning, adopted by the nullifiers of later dates, the committee argued that the State was sovereign, and the Union a compact with limited powers. It announced the astounding doctrine, afterwards reiterated by Buchanan’s Attorney-General, that the nation possessed no power of self-preservation. “A combination between one-half of the States, comprising one-third of the people only, possess the power of disorganizing the Federal Government, in all its majesty of supremacy, without a single act of violence.” The resolutions of 1798 were quoted at great length, and their principles heartily approved. Then came the remarkable and disloyal recommendation of the committee. It was nothing more nor less than to annul the decision of the Supreme Court of the Union by declaring the Bank of the United States an outlaw, and beyond the protection of the laws of Ohio. Said the Committee:

“For this purpose, the committee recommend that provision be made by law forbidding the keepers of our jails from receiving into their custody, any person committed at the suit of the Bank of the United States, or for any injury done to them; prohibiting our judicial officers from taking acknowledgements of conveyances, where the Bank is a party, or when made for their use, and our recorders from receiving or recording such conveyances; forbidding our justices of the peace, judges, and grand juries, from taking any cognizance of any wrong alleged to have been committed upon any species of property,

owned by the Banks, or upon any of its corporate rights or privileges, and prohibiting our notaries public from protesting any notes or bills, held by the Bank or their agents, or made payable to them."¹

The committee concluded its report by recommending the adoption of a series of resolutions, wherein it was declared to be the sense of the Ohio Legislature that the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia, in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, were the true constructions of the powers of the government. They further declared and maintained, in spite of the decision of the Supreme Court, the right of the State to tax the Bank of the United States. This report was adopted, and in accordance with its recommendation, the General Assembly proceeded to its inimical legislation. On the 29th of January, 1831, they passed "An Act to withdraw from the Bank of the United States the protection of the laws of this State in certain cases."² This law has no parallel outside of the ordinance of nullification passed by South Carolina in 1832, and the ordinances of secession of 1861. This law, so extraordinary and alarming, and at the same time so repugnant to every idea of common justice, in effect outlawed that which Chief Justice Marshall called one of the "constitutional means employed by the government of the Union to execute its constitutional powers." It was legislation against a bank constitutionally in existence, and whose charter was "a part of the supreme law of the land." Trampling upon all these considerations, the Ohio Democracy, through its legislature, made it a criminal offense to protect the property of the Bank of the United States; it was contrary to the Ohio Statute to prevent burglary, theft, or arson upon national bank property. It was declared illegal for any judge, justice of the peace, or any other judicial officer appointed under

¹ Journal of XIXth (Ohio) General Assembly, p. 117.

² See Chase's Statutes of Ohio, Vol. II, p. 1185.

Ohio authority, to acknowledge or receive proof of acknowledgement of any deed or mortgage to which the Bank or any officer was a party. It was an offense for any recorder to record any such instrument. Notaries public were forbidden to protest United States Bank paper. Such was the climax in Ohio's fight of nullification. Under her laws the Federal Government was stripped and bound, and driven beyond her borders. The protection that was given to an alien or a criminal was denied to the National Government. The resolutions that led to nullification in 1832, and secession in 1861, were proudly announced in 1820 as Ohio's construction of constitutional law. Well did Hamilton with prophetic vision say, when he read them, "This is the first symptom of a spirit which must be killed, or it will kill the Constitution of the United States." The nullifiers of Ohio carried out to the letter these resolutions." They held, as set forth in the legislative report referred to, and as their subsequent acts showed, the doctrine advocated by Jefferson: "that the Government created by this compact (referring to the Constitution) was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion and not the Constitution, the measurer of its powers; but that, as in all cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infraction as of the mode and measure of redress." The authorities of Ohio judged for themselves the limit of authority of the National Government, and chose the mode of redress. Their measures were more stringent, effective, and more completely nullified the supreme law of the land than did the measures of South Carolina twelve years after. Until the Supreme Court again declared that a State had no right to tax, in the final decision of the case originated in Ohio,¹ the iron law of non-protection was applied to the Bank.

² Osborn vs. The Bank of the United States. 9 Wheaton's Reports, 738.

The legislative proceedings herein related, and the conduct of the State officers failed to attract the attention throughout the country that they merited, for the reason that at that time the nation was in the throes of the Missouri Compromise agitation. But enough importance was given to them to place in an unenviable light the great State from whence they came. To have a northern State, and that State anti-slavery Ohio, advocate the doctrine of State sovereignty, when the country was racked over the question of slavery, under threats of disunion from the leaders of State sovereignty, was not indeed comforting to constitutional unity. The cold verdict of history puts the blame where it belongs. The Ohio of to-day need not be ashamed to lay bare the record, neither need it devote any time to apology. The nullification of 1820 was the act of a political school that to-day is dead in that great State.

DANIEL J. RYAN.

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF OHIO.

Few American States possess a more national history, or one embodying a greater variety of interests, than Ohio. The centennial celebrations that have lately been held within her borders commemorative of the beginning of the Northwest Territory, were more than local in character. They embodied ideas that have a marked bearing on our *National* history. The settlement at "Marietta on the Muskingum," on that April morning, one hundred years ago, was the first one made in our country controlled by the National Government, on soil devoted to freedom. The founding of this kind of government, the promulgation of its laws, the establishment of its institutions, mark an era in our country's history. The materials should not be forgotten, nor left to decay, that have arisen from this foundation. They should be gathered and preserved by the "art preservative," not only that they may be saved to the future, but that they may be easily and readily accessible. They thus become a public benefit, and are of practical use to those who must preserve and enlarge the structure begun in 1788.

The State and National archives are filled with valuable documents that should be rescued from decay, and loss by fire, or by one of the many accidents to which they are constantly subject. It is the duty of the State to do this. Private enterprise cannot carry out such a project. Besides, they are *State* property, and should be cared for by their owner. Ohio, the first born State of the "territory forever set apart to freedom," should be the one to set the example to those that with her now comprise this territory. She has greater wealth, resources, history and records. These are not only her own, but those records of her early history; especially that of the territorial period, are rightfully part of the other States'

history, and should be made easily accessible to their citizens.

That Ohio has not done so is partly explained in the fact that other matters have engrossed her attention. Newer States, like Wisconsin, have profited by our errors of omission, and by judicious aid to her State Historical Society, has rescued from oblivion her documentary history. It is not yet too late for Ohio to act. The valuable letters, papers, orders, memoranda, etc., relating to all phases of our early history lie scattered in the various departments, slowly but surely fading away. In this, our Centennial year, let an effort be made to begin this work, a work that once begun will not be allowed to linger.

The "Old Dominion," to which Ohio owes much, has set a worthy example in this regard. Massachusetts, New York, and other States are pursuing it. As early as 1875 it was begun in Virginia, and that year Volume I, of the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," appeared. They were edited by Dr. William P. Palmer, a man well fitted for the work. In his preface to Volume I, are admirable suggestions regarding the preservation of public documents. I have found nothing that so aptly sets forth the points in favor of this work. I have elsewhere noticed fully this set of Volumes, as well as those of the Virginia Historical Society. I have done this purposely, that the reader may see the *character* of Virginia's work, and the value of the papers thus rescued from loss.

At subsequent periods in the pages of the *QUARTERLY*, I shall notice the work of other States in this matter, and may quote largely from the compiler's statements concerning it. In the introduction to Volume I, Dr. Palmer says:

"It is not only the part of wisdom, but a sacred duty that a people should give careful attention to the preservation of their records. The value of original documents is chiefly to be estimated by the facts they disclose, because

it is from these alone that authentic history can be written. To the antiquarian they may afford the profoundest enjoyment in the gratification of a taste, more captivating perhaps than useful; but the annalist, whose functions are purely practical, cannot possibly perform his duties without their assistance. The uncertainties of tradition are substituted for the truth of history, in proportion to the absence of such sources of information. Hence the need of well attested records during successive epochs of the world's history has been seriously felt. It has bequeathed to each succeeding age a legacy of useless regrets, and transmitted from one generation to another, grounds of doubt upon almost every branch of human knowledge. The annals of historical literature and the arena of political discussion, abound with illustrations of this fact, and the avidity with which investigators now seize upon every fragment of recorded lore, whether engraven upon a prehistoric stone, or written upon a more modern material, gives confirmation to what has just been said. It is, therefore, unnecessary to dwell upon a truth so patent, but which, on this account, has been none the less prolific of contention in the world of letters.

"However, it may appear that the evil has found palliation in having developed some of the highest powers of the human mind, and in having contributed a vast and valuable historical literature in the efforts made to reconcile conflicting statements, or solve questions of serious import, it is equally true that in the meantime strongholds of error have been erected, and retreats provided for those who, in every age, are found anxious to escape the verdicts of impartial truth.

* * * * "In these latter days, however, and by the well directed efforts of those who believe that all obscuration of truth is productive of evil, movements have been set on foot looking to reforms, by which the sources of modern history at least may be in a measure purified, and their preservation, in the future, rendered more certain. The results of investigations made by modern writers of history, have had much to do in originating and giving direction to these efforts."

"The British government has provided a safe place wherein are contained all the public acts of this nation, from the doomsday of William the Conqueror to the coro-

nation of Queen Victoria. * * Whatever * * this Kingdom has for eight centuries done, or proposed to do by the complicated functions of its government and administration, restless as the sea, and multitudinous as the sands upon its shore, is here committed to safe, silent and impartial witnesses."

These records "stored up in iron gratings on shelves of slate, classified and arranged, and preserved from innumerable perils of fire, water, and official neglect, are never disturbed, except when removed from their shelves to gratify the curiosity of the antiquarian or assist the researches of the historian."

"Turning from England to France, where it is said a richer mine of historic lore is to be found than exists, perhaps, in any other country of Europe, we find another example * * * worthy of imitation; * * * the illustrious Guizot succeeded in accumulating and causing to be printed, under the sanction of the government, sources of French history from the earliest times, that otherwise might have disappeared during the paroxysms of political chaos to which his countrymen seem periodically liable. * * The last and best history of France, must therefore remain a fit memorial of one who devoted a long life to the glory of a people, who never ceased to recognize his merits under every change of time and fortune.

"Coming nearer home," writes Dr. Palmer, "it is gratifying to find that the sacred duty of preserving their history has not been altogether disregarded by some of the great American communities. As far back as the year 1814, the Historical Society of New York sent to the Legislature of that State, through their distinguished Vice-President, Dewitt Clinton, Esq., a memorial drawn by his own hand, in behalf of the perishing records of that Commonwealth. This document presented in strong terms the urgency and importance of the measure suggested. It appealed to the patriotism of the people, whose State pride should prompt them at once to rescue their history from threatened oblivion. The eloquent author called upon the State to assist the Society he represented 'in drawing from their dark abodes documents that would illumine the obscure, explain the doubtful, and embalm the memories of the good and great.' This effort was not in

vain — funds sufficient to carry out the purpose suggested were at once appropriated; competent persons were employed to translate the earlier records of the Colony while under the Dutch, and agents were sent abroad to collect in England, Holland, and France, original documents and copies of everything relating to the history of the Empire State of America.

"At a subsequent period, and after the materials had been collected, a proper person was appointed 'to compile the Documentary History of New York,' which work is now to be found in an imposing array of folio volumes upon the shelves of our State library.

"Other American Commonwealths, in the meantime, have not been idle. The Historical Society of Massachusetts has rescued from loss most of the records of that ancient Colony and influential State. They have been collected, printed, and bound in series, each one of which consists of numerous volumes. The Historical Society and other agencies of that State were stimulated to this action by occurrences such as the burning of the State House at Boston; the destruction of part of old Cambridge College, and of certain private residences which involved the loss of many valuable documents. Convinced by such disasters that no depository at that time was free from danger, it was wisely determined to multiply copies of their records through the printing press.

"As late even as the year 1851, the Executive of Pennsylvania by special message to the Legislature of that State, set forth the great importance of preserving the perishing records of the Commonwealth. A committee was at once appointed to consider the subject * * * and now the documentary history of Pennsylvania appears * * * in more than a dozen large volumes, beginning at the year 1664, and coming down to the latest dates. * * *

* Further south * * Maryland has accomplished much, and the States of Georgia and Louisiana have not been idle. The records of the latter have been preserved in part, from the time when the royal standard of Spain was first set up in the Floridas, * * until the period of the American Revolution."

Even some of the newer states, Wisconsin and Michigan in particular, have already taken steps to preserve their early records. In Wisconsin, Minnesota and Kansas, the

State Historical Societies are entrusted with this work. The annual volumes of these Societies, and their various publications attest the fidelity with which it is done.

Dr. Palmer, referring to the value of manuscripts, in the same introduction says:

"The real value of manuscripts is not always at once appreciated. The facts they record are, of course, of prime importance, but there are other features which equally recommend them to our notice. A paper cannot be without interest, for instance, should it but preserve the peculiarities of style, the quaint phraseology and antique orthography in use when it was written. In the earliest papers before us these are prominent characteristics. They appear as much in the private correspondence as in official documents, in which latter, however, as may be expected, a more stately, and oftentimes pompous diction prevails. To the modern reader these eccentricities may appear violations of literary taste. But it should be remembered that the best educated of our forefathers were compelled to employ the only vocabulary known to them. They had inherited the style transmitted from a more primitive age in letters, than that even in which they lived, and which did not begin its approach to the smoother diction of the present day, until about the beginning of the second century after the founding of the colonies. The manner in which they wrote, or otherwise gave expression to their thoughts should, therefore, be received with due allowance, not forgetting that to the literary critics of their own time these quaint productions were as well entitled to consideration as are those of modern days to that of their cotemporaries.

"Another merit of these documents consists in their perpetuating certain phrases and expressions, the only vehicles of a class of ideas purely technical in their signification. The literature of the learned profession abounds in these. Indeed, without them the phraseology of the law would lose most of its strength, and the language of codes fail to express its meaning. In many of the oldest may be recognized also, much of the ruggedness of the ancient Saxon tongue, as it appeared before the Norman dialect had added its softer elements, whereby what may be termed the stone-age of our language

began to pass away. The papers of this description are common until about the time of Spotswood, when their style begins sensibly to change. A little later a taste for the ornate becomes more apparent; quaintness and simplicity give way to decoration, and as we pass on to times nearer our own day, the measured sentences and rounded periods of the more modern diction come into frequent use.

"Still another value attaches to these fading manuscripts which may not at first view be recognized. In the letters and other communications interchanged by people of every class of society, one is impressed with the courteous regard for the amenities of social life exhibited in them, although often couched in awkward and commonplace language."

Dr. Palmer touches also many other points. The foregoing, however, presents cogent reasons why such materials should be preserved, and should have attention from those who possess the power to do for Ohio what has been done in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, Wisconsin, and in other American States, not to speak of what has been done by the National Government, through such men as Peter Force, the compiler of the "Annals of Congress," and by the publication of such documents as the "American State Papers."

In this, the anniversary of our first centennial, let the work begin, and let it not delay until we can place on our shelves a complete "Documentary History of Ohio."

A. A. GRAHAM.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

UNDER this caption, each quarter, will be acknowledged all books and periodicals received. All such works will be deposited in the library.

A. A. GRAHAM, Secretary.

CALENDAR OF THE VIRGINIA STATE PAPERS. Six volumes. Published by authority of the State, under direction of the Superintendent of Public Printing.

Volume I, printed in 1875, begins with a "Land Pattennt to Henry Palin and John Swingleton," issued December 6th, 1652, by "I, Richard Bennett, Esq, Governour, and Capt. Generall of Virginia." The volume ends in March, 1781, with a "List of fourteen 'Field Negroes' and two 'House Negroes' entered and recorded by Nicholas Eveleigh, of Carolina, in the Clerk's office of Halifax County, Va." The next volume begins April 1, 1781, and ends December 31, 1781; it was published in 1881. The third volume, from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784; it was printed in 1883. The fourth volume is from January 1, 1785, to July 2, 1789; it was printed in 1884. The fifth volume, printed 1885, (bound), is from January 2, 1790, to Agust 10, 1792. The sixth volume, printed in 1886, is from August 11, 1792, to December 31, 1793.

"The work," says the compiler of the first volume, William P. Palmer, M. D., "is of a kindred nature with that now in prosecution by the British Government. The documents from which it is compiled * * * are land patents, State papers, foreign and colonial official communications, incomplete proceedings of councils, courts, and vestries; the public and private correspondence of prominent individuals, and a considerable quantity of miscellaneous manuscripts of more than ordinary interest, because of their relations to the domestic affairs, habits, manners, and customs of the people at different periods of the colonial and State histories."

These volumes are an invaluable aid to students of history, and to all those who, from any cause, have occasion to go to the "fountain heads of knowledge." They are a standard witness as to what other States should do. Ohio, in particular, should profit by the example of the "Old Dominion," and preserve in imperishable form her interesting documents, national in character, unpublished in her various State offices.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. New series.
Volumes III, IV, V, VI, VII.

The Virginia Historical Society has done an excellent work in gathering into these volumes the neglected history of that commonwealth. It has been materially assisted in the work by the State. Volumes III and IV are the "Dinwiddie Papers." The manner in which they were secured is well set forth in the following correspondence. It is an example some one in Ohio might well emulate:

KATSKILL HOTEL, }
CATSKILL MOUNTAINS, JULY 16, 1881. }

R. A. BROCK, ESQ.,
Cor. Sect'y Vir. Hist. Society,
Richmond, Va:

DEAR SIR—On hearing that the "Dinwiddie Papers" would be sold at auction, in London, I requested Mr. J. L. Morgan, my friend and banker there, to purchase them. By telegram to-day I learn that his kind services have been successful.

The documents embrace a very interesting period in our Colonial History extending from 1752 to 1757, with many letters of Washington.

Believing that they will prove a valuable acquisition to your Society, I present them to it, and avail myself of this occasion to renew the expression of my deep interest in its prosperity.

With sincere regards, yours,

W. W. CORCORAN."

Speaking of the records, and of Mr. Corcoran's liberality, Mr. Brock says: "These valuable records, though

never before published, have been on several occasions consulted by historians. * * * The manuscripts are comprised in five folio volumes. The first four containing the records of the administration of Governor Dinwiddie — being copies of his official letters, addresses, reports, etc.; and the fifth, original letters of Washington complimentary thereto. These last had been dispersed in England as autograph memorials, but were collected and replaced with the records by their late possessor, Henry Stevens, Esquire, F. S. A. At the auction sale of the first portion of his library, in London, in July, 1881, these papers were, with the enlightened consideration characteristic of William W. Corcoran, Esq., purchased by him, and presented to this Society, of which he is a Vice-President. He has further liberally contributed towards the cost of their publication."

The papers were compiled and edited by the industrious Secretary, Dr. R. A. Brock, and are now accessible in printed form to any who may desire to consult them.

Volume V comprises "Documents (chiefly unpublished) relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia, and to the Settlement at Manakin Town, with an Appendix of Genealogies, presenting data of the Fontaine, Maury, Dupuy, Trabue, Marye, Chastain, Cocke, and other Families." The work opens with "A Declaration of the opinion of the French Ministry who are now refugees in England, about some points of religion, in opposition to the Socinians." It ends with genealogies of the families already mentioned. The work is a valuable addition to American history.

Volume VI is a collection of "Miscellaneous Papers," ranging from 1682 to 1865, printed from manuscripts in the collection of the Society. These papers are —

1672 — September 27 — The Fourth Charter of the Royal African Company of England, with Prefatory Note by R. A. Brock, exhibiting the past relation of Virginia to African Slavery.

- 1700—August 12—Communication from Governor Francis Nicholson, of Virginia, to the British Lords of Trade, concerning the Huguenot Settlement, with list of "Ye Refugees."
- 1775-1778—Papers, Military and Political, of George Gilmer, M. D., of Pen Ark, Albemarle County, Va., with Prefatory Note.
- 1776—Orderly Book of the Company of Captain George Stubblefield, Fifth Virginia Regiment, from March 3, 1776, to July 10, 1776, inclusive.
- 1862—The Career of the Iron-clad Virginia (formerly the Merrimac) Confederate States Navy, March-May, 1862, by Didwiddie Brazier Philips, late Surgeon Confederate States Navy, serving in the Virginia.
- 1862-1864—Memorial of the Federal Prison on Johnson's Island, Lake Erie, Ohio, containing a List of Prisoners of War from the Confederate States Army, and of the Deaths among them, with "Prison Lays," by distinguished officers, illustrated with sketch of the Prison.
- 1865—April 9—List of Officers and Men of the Cavalry Brigade of Brigadier-General R. L. T. Beale, Confederate States Army, surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.

A JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TRUSTEES, FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA," by the Rt. Hon^{ble} John, Earl of Egmont *
* * * * * and First President of the Board of Trustees of the Colony of Georgia."

The inscription, in Old English type, in the first part of this volume sufficiently attests its inception and reasons for printing. It is as follows:

"To perpetuate the memory of George Wymberley-Jones DeRenne, in connection with the branch of history in which he took the deepest interest, his widow has caused to be printed and now dedicates this volume."

Late in the year 1886, there came through the express office in Columbus, to the Society, two volumes which were taken to Dr. N. S. Townshend, one of the officers of this Society. No indemnifying marks were on or in the

package, whereby their identity could be traced. A card of the binders, Messrs. Pawson & Nicholson, of Philadelphia, was afterwards found in one, and inquiry of Col. John P. Nicholson elicited a prompt response, that these two volumes were bound by his firm, and that they were a gift to the Society by the one who caused them to be published, Mrs. Mary DeRenne, of Augusta, Georgia. A letter of acknowledgement and thanks was sent to her; and for this generous act towards the Society, and the great benefit to historical study and investigation, she was elected to Honorary Membership.

The second of the two volumes is entitled:

"ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF GEORGIA, 1755-1774, NOW FIRST PRINTED."

The superscription it bears, reads:

"The materials for this work were obtained from the Public Record Office, in London, by the late George Wymberley-Jones DeRenne, who intended himself to prepare them for the press. At the request of his widow, the task has been accomplished by Charles Colcock Jones, Jr.; and the book is a tribute to the memory of one whose profound love for Georgia, and interest in her history, ceased only with his life."

But few copies of these works were printed, and the Society is indeed fortunate to have a copy of each. They are invaluable aids to the student not only of history, but also to those of political economies.

Prominent among the names of those who founded the Georgia colony appear the names of James Oglethorpe and John, Viscount Perceval. "The former engaged in person to conduct the colonists to their new abodes, and to confirm their settlements in the ceded lands lying between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. The latter, with equal zeal, devoted his attention and substance to the administration of the trust in England, and the development at home of an enterprise which contemplated the amelioration of the condition of honest debtors within the realm; the promotion of the security of the Province

of South Carolina, and the enlargement, in America, of the English crown."

Speaking further concerning the labors of this, the first President of the Georgia Board of Trustees, Mr. Charles C. Jones, Jr., says: " * * No surer proof of his unflagging interest can be offered than that furnished by this journal, which he kept with his own hand, of the transactions of the Trustees."

The first volume of the transactions is irretrievably lost. The second and third are now in possession of the State of Georgia, through the liberality of that generous American banker, Mr. J. L. Morgan, of London."

The historical value of these volumes can not be overestimated. "They reveal the inner life of the Trust, unfold the details of the colonization, and may be termed the 'Sibylline Leaves' of Georgia history. They most admirably supplement "A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia," from October 20, 1737, to October 28, 1741, by William Stephens, in three volumes, printed by order of the Trustees, in London in 1742, which body also caused to be published in 1741, "An Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its First Establishment," and "Letters from General Oglethorpe to the Trustees," etc., from October, 1735, to August, 1744. Copies of these rare publications were obtained through the liberality of George Wymberley-Jones DeRenne, Esq., and given to the public, the third volume of the collection of the Georgia Historical Society, as was also "The General Account of all Moneys and Effects received and expended by the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America."

In 1752 the Trustees of this colony surrendered their Charter to the King. They had faithfully executed their trust for twenty years. The colony thereupon became a "Crown Colony," and a Governor was appointed to fill that position. On the nomination of the "Lord's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," Captain John Rey-

nolds, of the Royal Navy, was, August 6, 1754, appointed by His Majesty King George II, "Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of Georgia and Vice-Admiral of the same." The Governor's Council consisted of twelve members, appointed by the Crown, and were associated with him as an advisory body. When sitting in a legislative capacity they were styled the "Upper House of Assembly." They were analogous to the privy council to the King, and hence formed a "Provincial House of Lords." They also exercised judicial functions. The "Lower House" was composed of nineteen members returned from the several settlements, in accordance with writs of election issued by the Governor and Council. Thus was constituted the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia, by which the Acts comprised in the volume under notice were passed.

Mrs. DeRenne, in carrying out the plan of her husband, has done for the student of American history and politics an invaluable benefit. The monument so reared is one more lasting and beneficial than granite, and one which better attests the man whose deeds they perpetuate. It is an example worthy the emulation.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE.

For the use of schools and families. Dr. Edward Eggleston. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Those who know Dr. Eggleston need not be told that originality will be a marked feature of this small work. It treats in a comprehensive manner the history of America from the time of Columbus, 1492, until the time of the present administration. It is well illustrated with cuts, not found in ordinary school or family histories, many of which are quite rare. An excellent feature is the copious illustration by means of maps. They are abundant, and in many cases convey an idea of the subject not otherwise easily obtained. The work is issued with and without questions—*i. e.* for the school or for reading in the family.

A HISTORY OF OHIO. Daniel J. Ryan, Secretary of State of Ohio. Columbus, Ohio: A. H. Smythe.

This is an attractive volume, of 210 pages, intended for general reading. It does not enter into details in any event, being an outline, in pleasing form, of the general events conspicuous in Ohio's history. A well-written history, large enough to cover all points, is needed in Ohio, and it is hoped some one with sufficient knowledge, patience and skill will do for the students and those who wish to examine details, what Mr. Ryan has so well done in a general manner.

ARBITRATION BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR. A HISTORY AND AN ARGUMENT. By Daniel J. Ryan. Columbus, O.: A. H. Smythe.

This small volume of 127 pages was compiled by Mr. Ryan while a member of the Ohio General Assembly in 1885. It sets forth in a succinct, lawyer-like style, the history and results, good and bad, of strikes, and from these advances many useful deductions in favor of arbitration in disputes between employer and employe—*i. e.* capital and labor. The question is one that will ever remain an "open one," as to what and who shall determine the rights of both. Mr. Ryan goes into the history of the matter, and hence to the roots of the question. He shows not only by logic, but by the stern array of figures and facts, the uselessness and waste, and the utter failure of strikes. The sensible method to "get together and talk it over," to arbitrate, is fully discussed and advised. The book is well worth a careful perusal.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE STATE OF OHIO. By the late Henry A. Shepherd, of Hillsboro. Cincinnati: John C. Yors-ton & Co. 140 pages.

During his lifetime Dr. Shepherd spent several years in the preparation of a "History of Ohio." His death occurred before the completion of the work. This book is from the earlier chapters of the history, and is printed in

advance of the others. The book is divided into six chapters, which treat, in a condensed form, well adapted to students who desire condensed records, the various topics relating to antiquities. Chapter one gives a general description of Ohio, then follows chapters on "Defensive Enclosures," "Sacred Enclosures," "Mounds," "Contents of Mounds," "Caches, Tombs," etc.

ADVENTURES OF PIONEER CHILDREN. By E. Fenwick Colerick. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 263 pages. 12 mo.

This small work is hardly what its title implies. Only a part is occupied with a recital of tales of Pioneer Children, and they are chiefly drawn from published works. The latter part of the work contains the often told adventures of the Poe brothers; the torture by burning of Colonel Crawford; the story of Elizabeth Zane, and other reminiscences gleaned from books already in the market. It can hardly be considered a "valuable addition" to pioneer literature.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION—CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION NO. I. 1888.

This excellent and scholarly monograph is one of a series issued by the Bureau as "Contributions to American Educational History." It is edited by Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore. It contains "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," by Dr. Adams, together with "Authorized Sketches of Hampden, Sidney, Randolph, Macon, Emory, Henry, Roanoke and Richmond Colleges, Washington and Lee University, and Virginia Military Institute. Forty-five illustrations add much to its value.

CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION NO. 5.

Contains:

"INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH," by Rev. A. D. Mayo, who for the past eight years has been engaged

in a ministry of education through all the southern States. The monograph "is not," says the Commissioner of Education, "a discussion of scholastic methods, or an attempt to give premature opinion on many important points now under advisement by the foremost teachers of the country. The author has assumed the more useful task of setting before the southern people the reasons for the growing interest in industrial education through the whole country, and the special needs of this type of educational work in the development of the great resources and the organization of the labor system of the southern States, with a brief account of the principal institutions that have already undertaken the work."

NEW AMSTERDAM, NEW ORANGE, NEW YORK. With Chronological Data. By General Charles W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society. Privately printed.

This monograph conveys a good idea of the city of New York as it appeared in its earliest days. The material is gathered from a variety of sources, and embraces the period from Hudson's discovery, in 1609, until the recall of Gov. Wouter Van Twiller in 1637.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE, with an "Account of the Work of Toynbee Hall, Philip Lyttleton Gell, M. A., Chairman of the Council."

This monograph is number one of the seventh series of the John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Edited by Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History in the University.

Too much praise can hardly be given the John Hopkins University for its advanced work in the line of investigation and publication of valuable materials illustrating and preserving our national history. This publication is but one of many, any one or all of which can be obtained by addressing the Publication Agency of the University.

COLLECTIONS OF THE CAYUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. NUMBER SIX. Auburn, N. Y. 1888.

These consist of a series of papers read before this Society during the last year, together with the constitution, by-laws, organization, and list of members of the Society. The papers cover a wide range of subjects, viz: "Culture and manufacture of wool in Cayuga county, N. Y., from its first settlement to the present time," William Hayden. "Memoirs of David Thomas, William Bostwick, and George Fleming." "Early life in Auburn," "A Cayuga joint stock company," "The burning of the St. James."

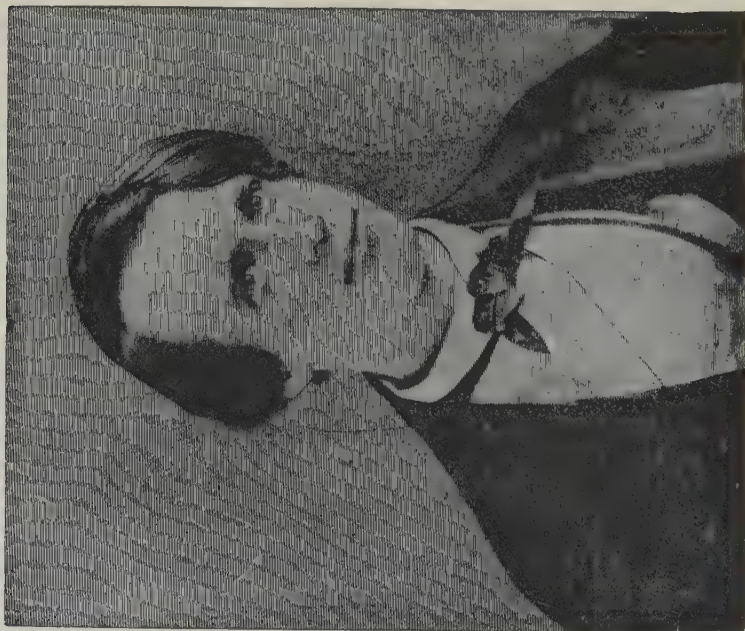
These monographs admirably preserve the Early History of localities and are worthy of emulation in all parts of the Union.

HISTORY OF THE SAULT STE. MARY CANAL. Paper, 15 Cts.

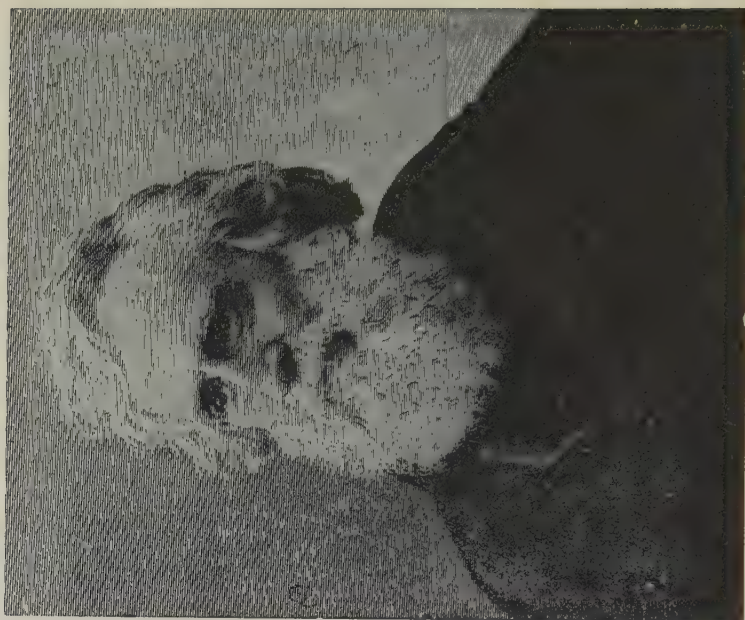
ANNALS OF FORT MACKINAC. Paper, 25 Cents.

INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES NEAR THE GREAT LAKES. Cloth, \$1.00. By Dwight H. Kelton, Captain U. S. Army.

The foregoing monographs are concise accounts of the subjects treated by Captain Kelton in a pleasant style. They can be obtained of the author, who was for some time stationed at Fort Mackinaw. Kelton & Co., publishers, Dwight, Mich.



HENRY HOWE, 1846. AGE 30 YEARS.
When on his first Historic Tour over Ohio.



HENRY HOWE, 1886. AGE 70 YEARS.
When on his second Historic Tour over Ohio.

OHIO

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SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF HISTORIC TRAVEL OVER NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, VIR- GINIA AND OHIO, IN THE SEVEN YEARS FROM 1840-1847.

Read at the fourth annual meeting of the Ohio Archæological and
Historical Society, at Chillicothe. February 1, 1889.

I propose this evening to give you some reminiscences of my travels in search of history over the four States of New York, New Jersey, Virginia and Ohio, from 1840 to 1847. They will consist largely of recollections of men of mark that I met. To render them more valuable I will present some facts of my early days, and show how I was led into a pursuit so out of the ordinary course.

I was born in a State that is more indebted to Ohio than any other—Connecticut. Its people early in this century, say about 1820, were noted as the best educated in the Union. When I was a boy I never knew a native who could not read and write, and so homogeneous was our population that my native city, New Haven, with 7,000 people, had not a dozen families foreign born. Connecticut was the first to establish public schools, which she did by the large school fund derived from the sale of her Ohio lands, comprising the twelve lake counties known as the

Connecticut Reserve. It was therefore proper that a Connecticut man should try to do a good thing for Ohio.

It was just after the close of the last war with the British that I put in an appearance. This was in the fall of the cold summer of 1816, when there was a frost every month of the year. Nothing could be expected to start big. I was not an exception. A rustic coming in and seeing me, but a three pounder, carried around on a pillow, exclaimed in the dialect of the rural regions, "Dew tell! whât a leetel fellow! he's scurcely wuth the raisin."

Religion, patriotism and learning had full possession of our place. It was the seat of Yale college, where even the old bricks seemed to ooze knowledge. My father was the College bookseller. His was then the most famous bookstore in New England, and the gathering point for scholarly men from far and wide. Thus was I in my boy days brought in the presence of much learning. It stared at me in rows from the shelves; a back stare it was. It walked in the front door personified singly or in twos; bowed and blandly said "Good morning." Polite learning that, often old fashioned, attired in short breeches, buckle shoes and broad brimmed hat.

The Bookstore was a great educating spot for me. In winter, gentlemen of literary and social propensities from far and near, would often sit around the wood stove and under the genial influence of a good fire, talk down the hours. It was not all solemnity around that stove.

I remember in my boyhood days of tumbling from chairs in convulsions of laughter at droll stories I heard. But then I got up again, and made full compensation by a tearful indulgence through some subsequent sorrow:

"The heart that thrills to sweetest pleasure
Throbs to saddest notes of woe."

This much listening developed in me an overweening love of humor, and that has often prevented me from being sad, even where a solemn sense of duty told me I ought to be very much cast down, there being at times

with us all a natural demand for lugubriousness. Else why should we be provided with such convenient muscular arrangements for drawing down the corners of our mouths and shedding tears?

In those charming days of youthful romance and young life's dreams, I derived untold benefit from my brother, some five years older than myself, who could sketch from nature, a rare accomplishment with American youth of that day. He often took me on his sketching and fishing jaunts, and taught my boy eyes to derive pleasure from the ever-changing beauties of the woods and waters, the clouds and mountains, of the surpassingly picturesque country around my native town. And thus this love of nature and love of humor, has smoothed my solitary tramps through successive years over varied States, for my eyes were continually pleased with the attractions of our earthly dwelling place, and my love of humor and sociality opened the hearts of strangers with whom I was in daily contact; and so I was never lonely, and never sad, and everywhere was received with kindness.

Among the habitues of my father's bookstore were college professors, eminent lawyers, and judges, and country parsons; some of the latter splendid specimens of virtuous, grand old age, fathers in Israel, settled for life, who ministered to their people in joy and in sorrow, from the cradle to the grave. There in my boy days, I often saw and listened to the conversation of such men as Noah Webster. Benjamin Silliman, Jeremiah Day, James L. Kingsley, Roger M. Sherman, Eli Ives, Nathaniel W. Taylor, etc., and that strange, unearthly, spiritual being, the poet Percival. Men of such intellectual mark, united to moral worth, as I then used to see, I have since rarely met. Simple, dignified manners, cautious in statement, and absence of expletives, and of cant expressions, were prominent characteristics.

In 1828 was issued the first edition of Webster's Dictionary, now a power in our land, and in two quarto

volumes. The imprint of my father was on the title-page; he printed it in an office, at the time owned by him. I, as a boy, often carried proofs to Mr. Webster's residence. Mr. Webster was then just seventy years of age, and impressed by the calm grandeur of his person, and the atmosphere of moral purity that seemed to envelop him. He was eminently religious, and of a nature ever ready to shudder at a scene of woe, or shrink from a thought of wrong. I do not remember to have seen him smile, he was a too much pre-occupied man for frivolity, bearing as he did the entire weight of the English tongue upon his shoulders.

The most constant visitor of the bookstore was that strange, unearthly being, the poet Percival; and I cannot but regard it as having been a privilege to have known him and heard him converse. He was then considered as possessing more general learning than any other man on the globe, unless it was Humboldt. We are certain this continent never had his equal.

Everything, home, family, friends, was sacrificed to his love of knowledge, which it has been said, was so intense, that life to him for the pleasure of its acquisition had an inexpressible value.

Percival was always a wonder to everybody. He moved under the elms with a bent head, introspective, hearing nothing, seeing nothing, buried in abstraction, living in an ideal world. And his own townsmen even were wont to pause, and turn and gaze upon him as he slowly glided past, as though he was an inhabitant of another sphere, and he was as one such. His own beautiful lines describe the source of his joys:

"The world is full of poetry,
The air is living with its spirit
And the waves dance to the music of its melodies,
And sparkle in its brightness;
Earth is veiled and mantled in its beauty;
And the walls that close the universe
With crystal in, are eloquent with the voices
That proclaim the unseen glories of immensity."

Now, I come to my life-directing incident. Although bred in the atmosphere of books, one day early in 1838, there was brought into the bookstore for a subscriber, a book entitled, "Historical Collections of Connecticut," which impressed me more than any I had seen. The author, the pioneer of works on this plan, was John W. Barber, an engraver, then forty years of age and a fellow-townsmen.

Mr. Barber in a little one-horse wagon went over Connecticut from village to village, taking pencil sketches and collecting material for the same. Never had a book been published on any State that had so fired the patriotism of its people. Every man in Connecticut, after he got it and saw what a grand little State she was, how glorious her history, furnishing to the army of the Revolution, as she did, more soldiers, more food and general supplies, in proportion to her population, than any other, felt as though he had grown at least two inches taller. Benson Lossing, also an engraver, told me forty years ago, that this book had made him an author.

When I saw this book, I felt I would like of all things, to dedicate my life to traveling, and making such for what Abraham Lincoln calls "the plain people," an expression which gives the idea of the possession of the solid virtues and the recipients of the simple home joys, and is therefore peculiarly grateful to the honest heart.

Two years passed; in the interim my father had died; I had learned to sketch from nature, made a small book which, published by the Harpers, went through many editions, and passed nearly two years with an uncle, a stock-broker in Wall street, an uncongenial spot, where I felt that Tophet was not afar.

The spring of 1840 arrived, when one day I walked into Mr. Barber's office, and inquired if he had thought of making a book on New York State. He replied, "Yes," but it was a great undertaking. When I told him I would like to join him in such an enterprise, his face broke into

smiles, and like a good man as he was, thereupon on going home, as he knew me only in a general way, he consulted with his wife. Now she happened to have been, when a maiden under the simple name of Ruth Green, the identical school-marm that had taught me my letters, when taking a pin in her fingers, and pointing to the successive letters of the alphabet, she said, "What's that?" Her report in regard to me was according to the first letter of the alphabet, with a number at the end, thus, A No. 1.

A few days later, Mr. Barber and myself had invaded the Empire State, going up the North River in a naval way, by steamer.

On reaching Albany we tarried there several days, sketching, visiting libraries, etc. Ere our return we went north from Albany and visiting the battlefield of Stillwater or Saratoga, took home from thence some bullets and dead men's bones, which are now in the rooms of the New Haven Historical Society.

After this trip we never were together. He went by public conveyances to large places, while I mostly went afoot, carrying my drawing materials and change of clothing in my knapsack. I zigzagged from county-seat to county-seat, collecting materials and taking sketches. I was well educated for roughing it, having passed two years of my youth as a rodman in railroad surveying. Was on the first railroad survey in Connecticut, that from Hartford to New Haven, in 1835. Twice I footed it across the State; once across the northern portion, once across the southern, from the Hudson to Dunkirk.

This was late in the fall of 1840, when, after giving my vote for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," I went up the Hudson river by steamer. Toward the close of the day there appeared on deck, some thirty miles below Albany, a colored man who, walking to and fro, rang a bell, ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling, and between each ting-a-ling he called out in plaintive tones, Cook-Sack-ee! Cook-Sack-ee!

Then the boat stopped: "All ashore that's going!" rung out on the air, and I walked the plank.

Cooper the Novelist.—A few days later I was in Coopers-town, by the Lake Otsego, in the stone mansion of a man of genius, James Fenimore Cooper, the great American novelist, then in the zenith of his fame. He was a large man every way, lordly and imperious in his manner, and with weighty voice. He was then, I should judge, about 50 years of age.

What he said in this interview I trust I shall be excused for not remembering, but it is often the case, when I am in the presence of a character of world-wide fame, I am so intent on studying his person and manner that I do not give full attention to his words. I only remember that I felt as a light boat lying along-side a huge man-of-war, and he firing big guns—boom! boom! boom!

Wherever night caught me in my travels, there I brought up and never was denied shelter in a farm-house but on one occasion. In the room I entered were two young rustics visiting two young ladies, and perhaps indulging in the illusions of hope.

Two Jacks were enough for two Gills; for when my request was made to the old people, from the corner of one eye I noticed the chin of one of those girls slowly move from right to left. When I saw this I silently laughed; that laugh went all over me and must have lodged somewhere in my boots, for when I struck the road three minutes later, out it came loud and merry, and filling the air, cheered the way.

I have noticed through life, that when you get a knock-down, the next thing in order is "a set up." Some people ignorant of this go out and hang themselves. What a pity! At the next house, a mile further on the road, having told who I was and my business, the old man at the door replied, "Friend H., thou art welcome, thee can stay." When this was said, I presume the illusions of hope were

in a state of favorable progress in the house I had left behind.

Reaching Dunkirk I turned and took the back track on the line of counties bordering on Pennsylvania, and had walked perhaps one hundred miles when a gentleman, Mr. Church, whose guest I was, and a son-in-law of the elder Prof. Silliman, the "father of science" in this country, and one of Nature's noblemen, wished to send a horse to him in New Haven as a present. Nothing could have been more opportune; the ground was covered with snow, and it was terrible work to walk day after day upon its slippery hail-like surface. So I made my way home on him; often taking my knapsack from his back and placing it on a snow bank for a seat, pulled out my portfolio and sketched a distant view of a town.

Weeks thus passed, and one bright morning in February, 1841, I crossed the ferry from Jersey City and landed in New York, and then rode the full length of Broadway on his back out into the country towards my home. It was a beautiful winter morning, just the hour the downtown merchants were thronging to their places of business. The sidewalks were filled with multitudes of elegantly dressed men, and it seemed as though every eye was upon me, for I was a conspicuous object, with my knapsack strapped to my horse, long hair streaming from behind my cap, and a pair of scarlet leggings covering my limbs from ankle up to my thigh. I did not care, for from my elevated perch I looked down upon them, and would not have exchanged situations with the proudest and wealthiest of them all. I had a vocation that I loved, one that would benefit the world, and competition with no one.

Thirty years later I again approached New York, crossing the same ferry, when occurred a little incident I cannot forbear to introduce here. I was standing in the crowd that thronged the forward deck, all looking toward the vast city that lay stretched for miles before us, illu-

mingled by the light of the declining sun, when I said to a tall, fine-looking young man that stood by me, "How greatly yonder city has grown since I first knew it, and how vast the amount of poverty, wretchedness and woe that lies therein." Upon this he straightened up, and swelling out like a turkey-cock, as though transported with the thought, he exclaimed in pompous tones, "Yes, and a d——d sight of splendor and magnificence, too."

Late the next afternoon, as I descended Milford hill, my native city, New Haven, hove in sight with its heaven-pointed spires, its background of bold, beautiful mountains, and its long, picturesque harbor. Down that hill the British red-coats had descended just seventy-two years before, and the grave of their adjutant was hard by; he had been shot by a farmer's boy of the neighborhood.

I entered the town, and just as I got opposite the jail facing the public square, my horse, that had always behaved with the propriety of a saint, took a mean advantage; he shied with me on his back, red leggings and all, straight up to the jail door, amid roars of laughter from a gang of coarse stablemen and other grinning fiends, that stood idling in front. I think I must in some unknown way have offended that horse, and his sense of justice told him it was time I should go to prison.

A grateful memory is in the acquaintance I made that evening, at the supper table of Prof. Silliman, with a very old man, aged 85 years, but whose intellect was yet clear and vigorous. This was Col. John Trumbull, the aid of Washington at the beginning of the Revolution, and the great historical painter of our country. He was the son of that governor of Connecticut, who was the only governor anywhere, under both the Crown and the Republic. Through some little matter that Trumbull felt involved his self-respect, I forget what it was, he resigned his position and left the army. It almost broke his heart, he did so love the cause.

Soon after he went to London to study painting under

Benjamin West. He was seized as a spy and was for several months in prison. King George befriended him so far as to say, "I pity the poor young man from my soul. Tell him that I pledge my royal word that in the worst possible event of the law his life shall be safe."

His battle pieces, "Bunker Hill," and "The Death of Montgomery at Quebec," have never been equalled in expression and artistic power by any American historical composition. These and "The Signing of the Declaration of Independence," have preserved for all time, accurate portraits obtained by years of labor and travel in America, England and France, of the prominent characters engaged in the great struggle. The originals, as the public well know, are in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, and engravings of them every school-boy is familiar with.

Col. Trumbull was of medium size, a blonde, with a clear-cut profile. He was a very handsome, refined man, exceeding modest, and like George Washington, he had a mild blue eye, with the same drooping upper lid. On looking back, I think I was blessed in having had an interview with such a great and beneficent character.

The work on New York we published in the fall of 1841, and then in the spring of 1842, Mr. Barber and myself began New Jersey. That State has a noble history; it is a State, -too, where laws are executed and crime punished. Its crowning feature is the possession of such a noble institution as Princeton College. It would confer honor upon any State.

New Jersey finished, I personally invaded Virginia in the spring of 1843, my associate being only pecuniarily interested with me.

When a mere lad he had remonstrated with the deacons in his church upon the institution of the "negro pew." "Why," said he, "do you put the colored people way off in a distant corner of the meeting-house by themselves, as though they were so many baboons, for the boys to make

fun of and grin at?" It seems to me cruel and unchristian! He would not go into a slave land, because he said he would not go where he could not speak his mind.

As Captain John Smith made his first settlement at Jamestown, I made my first landing in Virginia at that point in a steamer from Baltimore, which was en route up the James for Richmond. So in my starting I went back to first principles. It seems that the colony, being almost entirely composed of men, had for years a lonely time. Their hearts were aching for the smiles of women, and their ears longing to hear the merry voices of children ringing out on the air. Even the cry of one lusty infant waking up from his nap and kicking his little legs, hungry and bawling for his supper, would have been sweeter music to them than that of an entire brass band. The Virginia Company took pity on their forlorn condition and sent over first ninety and then sixty virtuous, but poor young maidens, as wives for the planters; and we may add, beautiful; that is, as women go, which sometimes is not astonishing.

Why some newspaper reporter was not about to report the scene when the women went ashore is not an honor to the fraternity. We may imagine the scene. The girls doubtless went ashore two-by-two, arm in arm on their way to the company's office, while the bachelors stood in lines through which they passed. The girls were giggling, blushing, hanging down their heads and stumbling in their excitement against one another; while the men looked on, sedate, solemn as owls, their eyes so widely stretched to drink in the charms, that the corners entirely disappeared and became round like the eyes of so many fish. And when one pair of these fish-shaped eyes lit upon a damsel of extra charms, we venture to say he nudged his elbow into his neighbor's ribs and exclaimed, "Oh, Tim, ain't she a daisy?"

These girls were sold for tobacco; the first lot for 100 pounds each, the second for 150. That is 18,000 pounds

for the entire lot, or an average of 120 pounds each and about a pound of tobacco for a pound of girl. And when there was a damsel sold of choicest beauty and charms, over whom there was a warm competition, it is presumed there was planked down the choicest quality of "Jeem's river."

History tells us there was a dignity about a debt for a wife that did not appertain to any other debt. He must be a poor shoat that did not pay up in full. Any man of delicate sensibilities would feel uncomfortable to think that say twenty pounds of his wife still belonged in equity to the company. It should dignify tobacco to every womanly mind to think how useful it might again become in the line of matrimony.

The family joys now began to swell the hearts of the planters. Between the rows of their tobacco plants, the footprints of little ones soon met their eyes and lightened the toil of its production.

When I went ashore at Jamestown, the great puffing monster leaving me alone soon disappeared around a bend. I looked on the country in front. It was flat as the river behind, not even a dwelling in sight, not a human being, all a solitude. The bachelors were gone with their great fish-eyes. The giggling girls were gone. The tobacco was gone, not even an old dry quid lying around anywhere.

All there was to be seen to arrest the eye, the only relic where had once been a busy town, was the tower of an old church, burnt two centuries before. It was a ruin, overgrown with ivy, and built of brick imported from England in the days of "the Jeems." It stood on the edge of a clump of woods and its rear was the old church-yard with the graves of the long forgotten dead.

Drawing my portfolio from my knapsack, I rapidly sketched the tower, and from that, original engravings have been made for many different books in the last forty years. I then buckled on my knapsack and crossed

the fields for Williamsburg on the York, seven miles distant. The day was pleasant, the air soft and balmy; but I was in a land of slaves. I had come from a land of freemen. What were my emotions? Grand and glorious. I felt the nation owed a debt of gratitude to old Virginia. Her very form was grateful to my eye on the map, and when it was marred by the excision of West Virginia, I felt as though a sacrilege had been committed. The memories of the great men she had given to the country in the time of her great struggle, and in the forming years of her government, crowded upon me. Washington, Patrick Henry, John Marshall, Jefferson, Madison, and a host of others, prove that slave owners can be men of the loftiest patriotism and possess the brightest virtues that adorn humanity.

I was soon to meet slavery, and it struck me, not as presented at the hands of a kind Christian gentleman who felt for the best welfare of a mass of humble dependents, but a few removes from savage Africa; but it struck me butt-end first from the hands of a negro driver, a Virginian, the first white man I was to meet on my introduction to Virginia soil.

After walking a mile across the fields I discovered a body of men whom I approached to inquire my way, and found them to be a gang of slaves, working a few feet only apart, and in their midst stood a solitary white man, their overseer. They were armed with heavy hoes, mattocks I think they called them, and were busy grubbing the ground. They looked stolid, stupid and sad, as they lifted up their course implements and sunk them in the earth. It was a novel sight to the overseer, my appearance, a stranger on foot and bearing a knapsack: On learning I had just landed and was from the North, he opened on the subject of their "peculiar institution." In less than two minutes that man said to me in a calm voice: "I'd as lief kill a nigger as kill a dog." With this a sardonic grin spread over his countenance and I looked

around to see what effect his words had upon this group of abject beings. They looked as before, stolid, stupid, sad, while their course implements continued to go up in the air and descending, cleave the earth—God's earth.

Moments come to us all, supreme moments when impressions are made that will last forever; these are at times when our intellects are as crystal and every chord in our being is attuned to the touch of the most delicate harmonies. A few weeks after my interview with the overseer I was out one morning in Richmond enjoying the beauty and silence of its environs where the city was losing itself amid grassy hills and soft green foliage. The dew was glistening around my feet and the shadows long over the landscape were streaked here and there in golden streamers from the rising sun. My intellect was clear as crystal. God had given another morning to the world, fresh and all glorious, and it was to me a moment of supreme enjoyment when suddenly I was startled by the laugh of a child, a laugh so joyous that I instantly turned to learn its source; my eye lit at once upon a little fellow, black as ebony, about five years of age, standing close by me, not twenty feet away, attired in a single garment, apparantly oblivious to my presence. He had seen something, I know not what, perhaps the gambols of some young dogs that had amused him and his face was so beautiful in his joy, that I felt like taking him to my heart.

And this child was a slave, and happy in his ignorance. I thought sadly, "Poor little fellow! You do not know your fate. These rich, these powerful ones around you have a mortgage upon you from your very birth. They will say, You shall neither learn to read, nor write, nor own a home, nor possess property except by our permission. Even your wife and children, if you ever obtain them, we shall tear from you at our option, and you shall see them no more, nor learn their fate.

"The great Master has placed you and us in a world of

beauty and mystery and has given to every human being that immortal principle that yearns for its knowledge and enjoyment. But the refined and beautiful things shall be closed to you, for you are born a slave; and if necessary to enforce obedience we shall pursue you with the lash of the task-master even to the brink of the grave."

This picture, this speech, flashed through my mind in connection with that joyous laugh and happy face beautiful in its innocence, the face of a weak, helpless child, and an entire commonwealth, more than a million strong, arrayed against it. Yet it is but right to say that among that million were multitudes who looked upon their position with sadness, but were powerless to prevent it.

They felt how monstrous that system, that accursed entail from their fathers that could only exist by repressing and crushing in ere, they could bud, the noblest instincts and yearnings of humanity. This, as in the mysterious case of Casper Hauser who was imprisoned from infancy without being allowed to learn to talk, was defined by the German jurists as the "*Nameless crime* against the human soul."

Within a short time I had visited Williamsburg, Yorktown, and Hanover Court House, taken sketches and collected some highly valuable historical material. I had met some of the most charming of people among the aristocracy, and been the recipient of their hospitality. Their frankness, simplicity and ease of manner was grateful.

At Williamsburg I called on Beverly Tucker, the President of the College, William and Mary. He was an old man with long, gray hair streaming down his back; and one of great learning. How he came to speak of it I do not recollect, but he told of the affection of the students for him, that if any indignity was offered him they would risk their lives in his behalf. As he spoke his eyes filled with tears. I was indeed surprised at this exhibition of tenderness of emotion and child-like simplicity. No Northern

College President would have so exhibited himself. But it was "Old Virginia" all over. Her good people carried their hearts on their sleeves.

He was the Uncle of Judge Randolph Tucker who addressed you last spring at Marietta; so the latter told me. I had gone up to him at the close of his speech and told him who I was, when he looked as though Rip Van Winkle had appeared, and then exclaimed, "Is it possible!" In like manner was Senator Daniel astonished at the close of his Marietta address, when the throngs had crowded around, shaking his hands for his patriotic speech I made myself known to him. Whereupon he dropped mine, and raising both of his aloft, and then placing a palm on each shoulder, looked me square in the face and exclaimed, "My Heavens, there have been two men I have been wanting to see from boyhood, Peter Parley and Henry Howe, and now I see one of them!" On comparing notes, I found he was born the very year I was traveling over his beloved Virginia, 1843, and five years before my Virginia tour I was face to face and talked with Peter Parley.

At Richmond I bought a horse, designing to ride him over the State, and started for Petersburg, distance some twenty-five miles. That horse was a regular pounding machine. It took fifty miles of riding to get there—twenty-five miles by road, and twenty-five miles up and down in the air. Then I discovered he was blind of one eye. I next day rode him back to Richmond, and returned him to the former owner; and he said, "He is not blind, Mr. Howe; he is only a leetle wake in one eye."

Nothing was left me but to walk, and I did walk in my successive trips more than a thousand miles.

A few weeks later I reached Red Hill, once the seat of Patrick Henry. It was then the residence of his son, John Henry, who had a plantation with several hundred slaves. The mansion which I sketched overlooked a beautiful, fertile country to the east. To the west, sixty miles away

loomed the long, blue line of the Blue Ridge, with those two exquisitely rounded cones, the Peaks of Otter. The graves of Patrick Henry and wife were in a grove at the foot of the garden, with no monument over them. They were fenced around with wooden paling.

When I arrived at the house, near the close of the day, I found Mr. Henry absent, and being a stranger and on foot, Mrs. Henry, a dark, sallow and sickly looking woman, was afraid to receive me, so I was turned over to the tender mercies of the negro overseer. I liked it because of its variety. He was a silent, sedate personage, and lived with his wife in a cabin with but a single room, except a loft under the roof, to which I was consigned for the night, going up thither by a ladder, and happier than a crowned monarch, I slept in peace. I saw I was a mystery to the overseer. He evidently regarded me with suspicion, perhaps an emissary of abolition. There were hundreds of field negroes on the place, and only a single white family. Not many years before had occurred a bloody insurrection, and at times the timid felt alarmed.

Next morning Mr. Henry returned, and for a day or two I was his guest. He was a large, dignified man, with little vivacity, and no special intellectuality. He told me considerable of his father, and I took notes; but got not much of value. It was accounted for by the fact that his father died in 1799, in his infancy, and he did not remember him.

There is not, perhaps, in history another instance of an orator having such power over a multitude. His very notes instantly thrilled the hearer, and such was the sonorous quality of his voice that President Madison, who once heard him, said it reminded him of a trumpeter on the field of battle sounding the charge. His audiences seemed as mere puppets in his hands. This was shown on an occasion when he was illustrating some point; he said, "If we go, we go all together." As he said this, he clasped his hands, and swayed his person from right to left! Upon

this, the entire body of his hearers moved with him, just as a forest of tree tops are swayed when stricken by a mighty blast.

Roanoke, the seat of the eccentric John Randolph, who had then been dead some ten years, consisted of two plain cottages, and was in a dense woods, with no sign of cultivation. I saw there his favorite servant, termed by Randolph his "ever and affectionate Juba," and I said to him, "You lost a fine master when Mr. Randolph died." "Yes," he replied, "he was more than a father to me."

Mr. Randolph was greatly beloved by his servants, and on his return from Congress was met with joy. In bitterness of sarcasm and celerity of wit he had no equals. The expression "dough face" originated with him, and was applied to show his utter loathing of that class of Northern politicians who cringed to the behest of the Southern "fire-eaters." His quickness of repartee was illustrated when he met face to face a gentleman on Pennsylvania Avenue with whom he had a quarrel, when the other exclaimed, "I never turn out for a blank fool!" "I do," retorted Randolph, at the same time bowing courteously and gliding past. This was James H. Pleasants of the *Richmond Whig*, who died as a fool dieth, being killed in a duel. I personally knew him and his slayer, young Ritchie, of the *Richmond Enquirer*.

The higher class of Virginia planters were a fine body of men, mostly untraveled, frank and simple-hearted as children.

The subject of slavery was almost universally touched upon when I was a guest among these generally hospitable people. I never introduced it; but they did almost universally. They mourned the existence of slavery; but they felt themselves in the midst of a mass of savages who had got to live as well as themselves, and they knew no way to extricate themselves. Some of their first men expressed their abhorrence of it to me privately in a manner that they said would have been dangerous for them to

have expressed publicly. My sympathies were touched at the difficulties of their position.

If the North had understood the South, and the South the North, the war would not have ensued; slavery would probably have continued for generations to come. At the outbreak of hostilities the cry at Washington was "On to Richmond!" but before that city was reached enough young men had been slain to have filled three lines of coffins to have extended as a pavement every foot of the way thither. The South Carolinians prided themselves on theirs being called the "Game-cock State," but they had no idea that for firing on the American flag they were to be so completely divested of their feathers.

Late in the fall and early winter I was weeks footing it through western and southwestern Virginia until I reached that point where Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, a trinity of States unite, each sending high in air mountain tops. I was for weeks footing it through the mountains. The population was very sparse, that of an entire county in some cases could be got into one of our churches. Their houses were generally cabins and of a single room, standing in the narrow valleys of the mountain streams, and often miles apart. The people dressed in homespun and lived the life of half hunters, half agriculturalists.

One day I entered a cabin of a single room and was struck by the extraordinary neatness within. A white coverlet was on the bed and other things in keeping. A fine looking old man in a hunting shirt, and an old woman with a pipe in her mouth, were seated by a fire listening to a little girl reading. He said he was a poor mountaineer and ignorant of the world. Neither of the old couple could read; but they were trying to do their duty. The secret of all this was the little book the child held in her hand known in Christian lands as the "New Testament."

One night I was lost in the mountains; I was walking on a sort of road through the woods; it was so dark I

could scarcely see. The air was moist, the dry leaves over my head were gathering moisture. This condensed and fell in drops on the dead leaves beneath, in a monotonous pat! pat!! pat!!! I kept on lifting up my legs at every step to prevent falling over obstructions; I could not see, when I heard the barking of a dog. That was more than music. A few moments later a light burst through the gloom, and in a twinkling I was at an open cabin door, where a mother stood and several children, who, aroused by the barking, had come out to see what was up. I found shelter. The father was away but returned after I had retired.

The cabin was a single room of perhaps twenty feet square. My supper was soon prepared; when ready, the mother took a sheet of tin, put at the end flat down about two inches of dipped candle, and then lighting it, shoved it horizontally into the crevice of the log chimney. It pointed to the table, a small affair, say a yard long; upon it was a collation of cold food, some potatoes, hoe-cake or corn bread baked on the hearth, and cold meat, perhaps bear's meat, for it was common in the mountains and tastes like ham. That very day I had seen a pet bear beside a cabin.

The candle burnt out, my supper ended, and I took a seat before the fire, which lit up the faces of mother and children as they circled around; they gazed into mine all absorbed as I tried to enlighten them as to the far-away country and people among whom I lived. After a while it struck me that the old mother did not exactly understand me, and I inquired. She replied she understood some things, but it was mostly "too high larnin' for her." Her oldest child, a daughter of sixteen, plump, merry, and rosy, who told me she weighed just 136 pounds, appeared to understand better. She said she "could read and write a little and craved larnin'."

These poor, simple, ignorant, but virtuous people looked upon me as a superior being from another world. The

old mother believed in witchcraft. "What!" said I, "you believe in witches?" "Yes," she replied, "I know it, for when I was a leetle gal I was at a camp meetin' and there was an old woman there who 'was possessed by a witch; and when the time for barking came on, she went out into the woods, and I followed and she barked just like a leetle fiste." I could not gainsay her, for seeing is believing, and she had seen it with her own eyes and heard it with her own ears, and I had not.

The pleasure which comes from the using of our muscular system when everything is in high working condition is beyond words. My physical vigor in this pedestrian excursion through southwestern Virginia was brought up to the highest point of perfection.

The season was most propitious; it was the early winter, the climate bracing, the scenery wild and picturesque, and the semi-civilized people I was among supplied me with a fund of thought and amusement. Poets and preachers they say are sometimes inspired. Theirs is brain inspiration. Mine was of a different character.

I had to walk so much that my locomotive muscles had become like whip chords, and full of high spirits; it seemed as though my limbs were inspired. I suppose this might be called "leg inspiration." I remember one day in particular when near the Tennessee line when I had walked about fifty miles, that in the last two hours it seemed as if something had broken loose; I rather flew than walked. David Livingstone, the African traveler, relates in his *African Experiences* that when he had got broken into walking he felt as though he had no feet. For my part I felt as though I had no legs. They were wings.

In December of 1845, after the publication of my *Virginia*, I went to Charleston. Mr. Calhoun was then so powerful in the state that it was a common saying that when he took a pinch of snuff all of South Carolina sneezed. He had expressed his gratification with my *Virginia* work coupled with the desire that such an one

should be made upon his State, and that was my errand. The project failed through the timidity of a gentleman there.

Ohio, the young and rising State next attracted me, and proved a mine of ungathered history; all one had to do was to travel and pick it up.

Cincinnati was my first point, where I arrived in January, 1846. It was then the most important city of the west, the center of its highest refinement and cultivation; especially noted for its public spirit and its many people of mark.

The river was the grand artery of commerce, and the landing a scene of bustle and business, with the discharge of goods and the movement of steamers:—its varying stages and phases was in everybody's thoughts and talk. "How's the river to-day? Good stage of water, eh!" Their very slang came from it. When one wanted to express his contempt for another he would say, "O, he's a nobody—nothing but a stern wheel affair—don't draw over six inches."

One day I was in the rooms of Dr. Randall, the Secretary of the Cincinnati Historical Society, when in bounced two laughing, merry, country girls. Some jokes passed between them and the Doctor, and then they bounced out. They were Alice and Phoebe Cary, girls respectively twenty-six and twenty-two years of age, then just rising into fame. The portraits as published are not at all as they were then. Phoebe had a round, chubby face and seemed especially merry. Alice I saw years later at a concert by Jenny Lind. She was then small and delicate, with an oval face, expression sedate and thoughtful. She was attired in Quaker-like simplicity, her dark hair parted in the middle and combed smooth over the brow. No maiden could look more sweet and pure than she on that evening. Her appearance remains as "a living picture on memory's wall."

I was again in the city a few months later when the war

broke out with Mexico, and the news came by river of our victories in the two opening battles, the 8th and the 9th of May, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. The whole town was alive with excitement, and I remember a little lieutenant from the Barracks over in Newport seemed especially jubilant. A soldier who was present told me that just before the opening of the first battle, General Taylor rode in front of his line from right to left. He was seated on his horse like a woman, and facing his men said: "The bayonet, my hardy cocks—the bayonet is the thing."

The most eminent character of the Cincinnati of that day was Judge Burnet. His notes on the History of the Northwest, were published about that time. He had come from New Jersey to Ohio in 1796 and died in 1853. He was, when I saw him, seventy-six years of age, a thorough gentleman of the old school, of Scotch descent, his complexion dark, eyes black, and general expression forbidding, and manner reserved and dignified. He walked with a cane, his hair in a queue, and I think he wore a ruffled shirt. I had been introduced to him the summer previously by Henry Clay, at Mr. Clay's Kentucky home. The latter had invited me out to take tea, and when I arrived there, Messrs. Clay and Burnet, with their wives, were in the garden. After a little Mr. Clay said, "These ladies have some conspiracy together, let us go in." We took our seats and presently tea was brought to the parlor and served there. The Judge soon left and I was alone with Mr. Clay. He was at the time seated over a rug his feet resting on the words,

"PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY."

He pulled out his snuff box, spread a red bandanna handkerchief over his lap, and leaning forward talked to me in a kindly manner in those sonorous tones that had swayed multitudes. In the course of the conversation he inquired: "How is my old friend Wm. E. Robinson?" I replied that he is now the Congressional reporter of the

New York Tribune under the pen name of Richelieu. "You should," he replied, "pronounce that name Risheloo." Seven years before when alone in the private parlor of Daniel Webster, in the Astor House, just prior to his departure on his celebrated visit to England, I had been joked by him. To have been corrected by Henry Clay and joked by Daniel Webster are among my choice reminiscences.

Mr. Clay was idolized by the people. When he walked through the market at Lexington, the children would run and catch the skirts of his coat and exclaim, "How do you do, Mr. Clay?" and often thrust flowers in his hands. "I am of different politics from Mr. Clay," said my landlord, MacGowen, an Irish Democrat at Lexington, "but I have been a neighbor for years and can not help loving the man." When Mr. Clay was defeated for the Presidency, multitudes wept. When the news came of his defeat, I was at a public meeting of the Whigs in my native city, who were condoling with each other, while outside the young Democrats were marching and singing through the streets:

"O, Cooney, Cooney Clay!
You never can be President,
I hear the people say."

At that meeting, an old, gray haired gentleman arose, Zebul Bradley, the silversmith. When a man has such an old time Hebrew name as Zebul, one may be pretty sure he has been Bible bred, and where, when in distress, he will go for comfort. Raising his hands and looking aloft he exclaimed, "*The Lord reigns!*" Then Zebul the silversmith sat down. It was the shortest speech I ever heard, and in the light of succeeding events, the most pungent.

My first point after leaving Cincinnati was Marietta. I went there to begin at the beginning. I was for several days the guest of Dr. Hildreth and his charming family. He was then about sixty years of age and one of the most

valuable men New England gave to Ohio. I found him quiet and kindly, the ideal of a revered family physician. It was most fortunate for Marietta that it had such a faithful delineator of her valued historic characters.

I believe he was fully impressed with the moral responsibility of writing for the public. He seemed to delight in resting upon the good points of men's characters. In one instance he speaks of a gentleman whose orchard was being plundered by boys. He got under the tree in which they were, ere they discovered him; when he gently told them those were not his best pears, they must come with him and he would show them a better tree, and in future when they wanted more fruit, come to him and he should be pleased to give it to them. After this the boys had no desire to steal his fruit.

The next character of especial note I saw was in Circleville, Ohio's first historian, Caleb Atwater. He was a graduate of Williams, was educated as a lawyer; had been in the Ohio Legislature, post-master of Circleville and Indian Commissioner to Prairie du Chien, under Jackson. Mr. Atwater when I saw him was sixty-eight years of age, a large, heavy man, who seemed when he was talking as though he was thinking aloud. He was a queer talker and appeared to me like a disappointed, unhappy man. One of his favorite topics was General Jackson whom he had visited at the Hermitage where the General had entertained him talking, I presume, between the whiffs of his corn-cob pipe which he smoked even when in the White House. Although born in Massachusetts, he was a descendant of David Atwater, the original progenitor of all the Atwaters in America. David was one of the leading settlers in New Haven in 1638. One of my four great-grand-fathers was a Caleb Atwater, so I have some of the same blood in my veins.

But all of that old New England stock is nearly related. Almost the entire emigration to New England was in the fourteen years from 1628 to 1642 when in all

20,000 people came over. After that there was no emigration only as the scattering flakes after a snow squall. These 20,000 married young, had large families and at the beginning of this century their descendants had increased to over a million. The result is as genealogists ascertain they are about all in some degree of cousinship to the rest; by some lines often near and by others remote.

Mr. Atwater did good service by his work on Western Antiquities and this leads me to speak of two other archaeologists of the Scioto Valley, whose acquaintance I made, Ephraim George Squier and Dr. Edwin Hamilton Davis. They were then engaged in making their explorations and surveys. Dr. Davis was a native of Chillicothe and was then about thirty-five years of age. He was a very reserved and somewhat diffident gentleman and of the highest character. The latter part of his life was passed in New York, pursuing his archaeological studies. Mr. Squier was an entirely different man. He had come from the East to assist Mr. Seneca W. Ely, now the agricultural editor of the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, to edit the *Chillicothe Gazette*. He was then about twenty-six years of age, a blonde, small and boyish in figure, but one of the most audacious spirits I have known. In coming to Columbus with a friend of mine just prior to the opening of the Legislature, Squier said to him that he was going to get the clerkship of the House. Surprised, the other replied, "Why, Squier you can't do that, you have just come to the State, you are not even a citizen." "I don't care, I shall do it." And he did it. He had a talent for management and notwithstanding his insignificant presence could make his way everywhere, with no fear of power, station nor weight of intellect and character.

One day he was riding out with the same friend, when they came in sight of some ancient works. He thereupon inquired about them. The latter told him, on which he became greatly interested, and said that would be his field of work, he did not care about politics.

In the course of conversation Squier asked if there was anybody in Chillicothe interested in archæology. "Yes, there is Dr. Davis, who, ten years ago, assisted Charles Whittlesey in his explorations and surveys of the Newark antiquities, and is still gathering relics." The result was he united with Davis, who furnished the funds, and they worked together.

The publication of their great work by the Smithsonian Institution set Squier upon a pedestal. John F. Stephens' work upon the Antiquities of Central America, issued in 1841, had created a great sensation, showing that country was a rich field for archæological research. Squier, on the publication of their work, applied for and obtained the position of special charge of affairs to Central America, his object to investigate archæology and kindred topics. Both he and Dr. Davis died last year.

Some thirty years ago I was walking down Broadway, when I saw on the opposite side of the street, E. Geo. Squier walking arm in arm with a huge man, who was lame and wobbled from side to side. The contrast was remarkable between the little incisive man and the giant. The latter was Chas. Fenno Hoffman, the poet, and author of that then popular convivial song, which elderly people will remember:

"Sparkling and bright in liquid light
Does the wine our goblets gleam in,
With hue as red as the rosy bed,
Which a bee would choose to dream in.
Then fill to-night with hearts as light
To loves as gay and fleeting
As bubbles that swim on the beaker's brim,
And break on the lips while meeting."

In view of the subsequent history of those two men that scene is not to be forgotten. Both eventually brought up in lunatic asylums, and Hoffman died in one. But that was natural; what else should be expected of those—and I say it with all due respect to the members of this Society—what else should be expected to become of those who fol-

lowed such moneyless callings as writing poetry and studying archæology?

It was a great gratification to me that at that period I saw Thomas Ewing and Thomas Corwin, Ohio giants in the political world; and in later years William Allen. It was in 1837 when Mr. Allen took his seat in the United States Senate, and at an earlier age than any other Senator was ever elected. I was at the time engaged in railroad surveying in Connecticut, and the leader of our party I remember was enthusiastic over a brilliant speech the young Senator from Ohio had made. It was the custom in that day to fasten nicknames upon prominent public men. Mr. Allen was called by his opponents the "Chinese Gong," from the tremendous strength of his voice, and when the Chinese gong went out of use, and the people knew not its horrid din, changed the epithet to the "Fog Horn." At one period it was "Earthquake Allen," and because he had used in a speech the expression "an earthquake of indignation." Mr. Ewing was called by the Democrats "Solitude Ewing," from a speech he made in the Senate, wherein speaking of the disastrous effect of the removal of the deposits by Gen. Jackson, he said, "Our canals have become a solitude and the lake a desert waste of waters." This term was certainly poetical, having in it the element of pleasing melancholy. Not so the term applied in that era to the Democratic member of Congress from Mercer county, who got fastened upon him the epithet of "Sausage." And this was the way of it: William E. Robinson, the waggish reporter, "Richelieu," of the *New York Tribune*, had given a comic description of the Hon. Wm. E. Sawyer's bringing to the house a cold lunch and spreading it on his desk, and partaking of it in the presence of his fellow-members while business was going on. Cold sausage, as described, was the principal article of the menu. The Democratic majority expelled Mr. Robinson, but he came back some years later as the Democratic member from the Brooklyn-New York District.

Mr. Sawyer was ever after known as "Sausage Sawyer." It was a cruel epithet to apply to a worthy man.

There were some Ohio men I then met, I will now speak of. Young they were and could not dream of the honors awaiting their coming years. Once when in the office of the *Cleveland Herald*, of which Mr. Harris was the editor, there came in a youth of scarcely twenty years. I was at once interested in him, for he was a native of my town, and his father a friend of my father, and a gentleman of unusual elegance and acquirements. The young man was pale, slender, nimble in his movements, quick as a flash with an idea, and enthusiastic. The reflection I had was "how young you are to be so interested in politics," for that was what I supposed brought him to the office. But he has made an honored record, — GEORGE HOADLEY.

While, in 1846, I was sketching Athens University, a group of students looked upon my work with absorbing interest. It was probably the first time they had seen any one sketch from nature. Among them was one who was to add to Ohio's honored names in the literary and political world. Love of nature, and love of humor are generally wedded qualities, are certainly so in his case. His brilliant description of a daily phenomenon first gave him wide notice and the pleasing sobriquet of SUNSET, while his superabounding wit from that day to this, has been as a medicine for the alleviation of human woe, and places S. S. Cox well on the pedestal among the benefactors.

In my boy days I often saw in my father's bookstore a Yale student. He was tall, broad, even as a youth heavy and strong. He had been quarried from the granite hills of New Hampshire; and now for full half a century, has been one of Ohio's solid possessions. He was even then noted for his strong common sense and masculine grasp of intellect. He was a warm admirer of Daniel Webster, whom in some important respects he resembles, and of

the many eulogies pronounced upon that great man, his tribute to his "Life and Services" is regarded by the family and friends of Mr. Webster as the most truthful and masterly. For a large part of his life, Yale College has been glad to have him as a member of its corporation, which perhaps is as great an honor as being a cabinet minister, but he has even been that, and twice a minister abroad to the Courts of Austria and Russia. I am here proud to speak of him as my life-long friend, ALPHONSO TAFT.

They were building a railroad from a town on the lake shore to a point a few miles south, but were not running regular trains. I went out of the lake shore town in a train consisting of a locomotive, tender, and a single baggage car, with a few rough seats, what they called in those days a "Jim Crow car." There were but three or four passengers. One of them was a young man of great height, slender, pale, and then just twenty-three years of age. He was attired with great neatness, and looked to me like a college student, pale and thoughtful. He sat in statue-like silence. Not a word escaped his lips; but I noticed he had his eyes well open, nothing seemed to fail his observation. My saddle-bags, containing valuable drawings and notes, had been taken in charge by the railroad man, and I knew not its whereabouts. In talking with him about it I showed, as I felt, a nervous anxiety. This young man heard my every word, and a feeling of shame came over me with the thought, he must think I was foolishly fussy.

Since that day our country has gone through much. We of advanced years, who have lived through its periods of deadly peril and suffered the agonies of its sore adversities, alone can tell how much.

To hold high official position is well enough. The time is coming when no man can repeat our long list of Presidents. Human applause and honor, to have your name on every tongue is well enough; but as compared to

some other things, is as mere sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. But to have rendered great service through great love to one's country, and such a country as ours, with which the best hopes of humanity are identified, is everything. It is this that will immortalize a man, and what is better, render his last days his best days. And where is the living man, who from that period to this, has done such an extended, united to such a great service, to these United States, as the silent, reflecting youth who sat by me on that day—
JOHN SHERMAN.

A young man said to me in one of the interior towns, "There is an odd character here you ought to see. He writes humorous verses, is much of a wit, and is deserving of a place in your book." I replied, "Ohio has a good many odd people, and I have not time to give them all a call." The young man eventually moved to Cincinnati, became a member of its literary club, and I was associated with him for years, and learned to love and respect him. He was one of its most popular members, overflowing with good fellowship, cheery, fond of the humorous, and never known to get angry except in indignation at some vile project in view, or some oppressive act committed upon the weak and helpless. In those days there was nobody around to tell him, that he was to become twice Governor of Ohio, and then President of the United States—RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

I now regret I did not see that comical character, Judge Elisha W. Howland, that he wanted me to call upon. But he is going into my second new edition.

Two or three years after my visit, the name of the town was changed from Lower Sandusky to Fremont, in honor not of a then political character, but of the great Path Finder over "the Rockies." Mr. Hayes, as the lawyer for the petition, presented it to court, and finished by offering the only remonstrance against the change. This was in the form of humorous versification, consisting of seven verses from the pen of Judge Howland, which Mr. Hayes

read to the Court, and I have no doubt with a gusto. I give you three of them.

"There is a prayer now going round
Which I dislike to hear,
To change the name of this old town,
I hold so very dear.

"They pray the Court to alter it,
I pray to God they won't;
And let it stand Sandusky yet,
And not John C. Fremont.

"Therefore my prayer shall still remain
Until my voice grows husky,
O, change the *people*, not the *name*
Of my old home, Sandusky."

Many of the other eminent characters of the Ohio of that day whom I met, time will not allow me even to name, but they will largely be found in the traveling notes of my Centennial edition, with other reminiscences.

I had designed to walk over the State and did walk about 100 miles when I bought a horse, large, white, and a racker. The name of my companion was Pomp; but a more unpretentious creature never lived; he was humility itself. I bought him of a family physician in Delaware. As I rode him out of the gate, the wife and children of the doctor wept; and the doctor himself smiled, but it was to conceal his true feelings. Poor fellow! he was later one of the many, who leaving their little families behind, started overland to California to better their condition, and perished on the way.

My advent in a little town often created a sensation, especially when I took a chair and, sitting in it in the center of a street for an hour or more, took a sketch. "What is that blank fool doing there in a chair?" was not an uncommon query from those within my earshot; and ever amused me. A knot generally gathered around, and thus was I protected from being run over by some passing vehicle.

Wherever I went I generally found some local chron-

icler of events, or else some old people who could tell me incidents of pioneer life. Everything was thrown open to me. Very many sent me communications after I left. I collected everything that had been published. While I am gathering materials for a book, it absorbs all there is of me; I take it to bed with me, I rise in the morning with it, and it accompanies me everywhere I go. Things apparently remote often lead up to the absorbing topic. Every man of sense who forms a love for a subject and works, will excel. When one of my books is published, that which has been a subject of entire absorption changes to one of a like repulsion. It recalls memories of labor and anxieties. So I can well appreciate the feelings of Goldsmith, who, on having a certain question put to him replied, "Oh! don't ask me, I don't know anything about that subject; I once wrote a book upon it."

On the first of September my work was done. A little over seven years of my life had been passed in this kind of labor, given to my country. Then for thirty years thereafter I was a citizen of Cincinnati, and under my roof-tree buckeyes sprouted, grew and blossomed. There I led a very retired life, my travels mainly from my house to my office, but the many books that I made from that point went out all over the land, to perform a mission and to show I was still living. Then that also ended. Now, after an interval of years, I am again in action, working while it is yet day, which to each of us is brief and can be told in these few lines of mine:

LIFE OUTLINED.

A strange world this, with its ever-changing chimes,
Peals of joy from virtues, wails of woe from crimes;
Where the pressing present crowds back the fading past,
And on a brighter morrow the eye of man is cast.

'Tis here we are born, play, work, laugh and sigh,
Love, wed, rear children, grow old and then die;
Still on the world moves, and we are forgot;
Few know, and less care—oblivion's our lot.

Still eyes shall weep, sad vigils keep
As death the reaper cuts the lines,
And ages roll and dirges toll
And the winds go moaning through the pines.

Yet marriage bell o'er hill and dell
Will proclaim the sweet old story
And children's prattle and drum's wild rattle
Tell of happy youth and glory.

HENRY HOWE.

THE SALE OF THE WESTERN RESERVE.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the State of Connecticut claimed the strip of land lying within her charter limits, forty-one degrees and forty-two degrees two minutes north latitude, extending from the Delaware River to the Mississippi River. The State of Pennsylvania also claimed so much of this strip as lay within her charter limits; that is, east of a meridian line five degrees west of the Delaware. A bitter controversy between the two States was decided by a Federal court, sitting at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1782, in favor of Pennsylvania. This decision left Connecticut in possession of, at least claiming, that part of the belt lying west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania. Then came on the cessions of their Northwestern claims by the claimant States, New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. On September 14, 1786, by her delegates in Congress, the last named State executed a deed of release and cession, of which the following is the material part:

"An ample deed of release and cession of all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to certain western lands, beginning at the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude, 120 miles west of the western boundary line of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as now claimed by said Commonwealth, and from thence by a line drawn north parallel to and 120 miles west of the said west line of Pennsylvania, and to continue north until it comes to forty-two degrees and two minutes north latitude. Whereby all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to the lands lying west of the said line to be drawn as aforementioned 120 miles west of the western boundary line of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said Commonwealth, shall be included, released, and ceded to the United States in Congress assembled, for the common use and benefit of the said States, Connecticut inclusive."

The effect of this release and cession was to leave Con-

necticut in possession of the lands, bounded north and south by the parallels of forty-two degrees two minutes, or rather the international boundary line, and forty-one degrees, and east and west by the western boundary line of Pennsylvania and a line parallel with that boundary and west of it 120 miles. In respect to these lands, Connecticut claimed all that she had released and ceded in respect to the others, viz: the right, title, interest, and jurisdiction, which is as exclusive and absolute a claim as she could to-day make to the city of Hartford or to Tolland county. In other words, the lands not released and ceded to the States were, to all intents and purposes, a part of the State of Connecticut. No inquiry will here be made into the grounds or validity of this claim farther than to say that the claim rested on the charter given by Charles II in 1662 to the Governor and Company of Connecticut, which granted that colony all the lands within her charter limits west of Narragansett Bay to the South Sea; and that if this charter entitled Connecticut to anything within the boundaries of her western claim it entitled her to everything, both soil and jurisdiction. The lands that Connecticut did not release and cede she was said to "reserve"; and they soon came to be called "The Western Reserve of Connecticut," "The Connecticut Western Reserve," "The Western Reserve," and "New Connecticut." These names were all popular in their origin, but they are found in historical and legal documents.

In 1786 the lands were uncultivated and waste, and in sole possession of wild animals and wild men; they were far beyond the farthest reach of western emigration; nevertheless the disposition to be made of them became at once an interesting public question. An attempt to sell a part of the lands was made the very month following the execution of the deed of release and cession.

In October, 1786, the Legislature resolved to put the

lands lying east of the Cuyahoga River, the Portage Path, and the Tuscarawas River on the market. The resolutions then adopted, together with some amendments made in May of the next year contained a full statement of the method of surveys and sales. Some features of the plan are worthy of note.

The lands should be sold for the public securities of the day, except that \$27 for each township was required in specie, enough, it was supposed, to pay for the surveys. They should not be sold for less than three shillings lawful money per acre, or fifty cents of our currency. The territory should be surveyed into townships six miles square, lying in tiers parallel with the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and numbered from east to west, one, two, three, etc. The townships should also be numbered from south to north in the same way. Five hundred acres of good land were to be reserved in every township to the public for the support of the gospel ministry; the same quantity for the support of schools; and 240 acres were to be granted, in fee simple, to the first gospel minister who should settle in the town. The sales should be made by townships. The Legislature also appointed a committee of three persons to manage the surveys and sales, and directed how the titles should be made. It also guaranteed the preservation of the peace and good order of the settlers under the authority of Connecticut, in a manner consistent with the National Confederation, until the State should resign its jurisdiction, and local government should be duly established. This feature of the plan is deserving of special notice.

No attempt was made to execute the surveys that the resolutions of 1786-87 contemplated. Nor was more than one sale made in consequence of these resolutions. This was "The Salt Springs Tract" of 24,000 acres, lying in the Mahoning Valley below Warren, sold to General Samuel Holden Parsons, of Middletown, Connecticut, in 1788. The tract was described in the deed as though the survey

was actually made; but the lines were first run by the Connecticut Land Company several years later. General Parsons at once began to make sales of parts of his purchase and to execute deeds. General Parsons was drowned a few years later, leaving his business in some confusion, and the adjustment of the rights growing out of his purchase to the rights of the Connecticut Land Company gave no little trouble. No settlements were then made on the tract.

For a number of years the inhabitants of certain Connecticut towns that had suffered losses of property in the incursions made by the British troops into the State during the Revolutionary war, had been praying the General Assembly for relief on the ground that they alone should not be compelled to bear these losses. The propriety of this prayer had been recognized by an abatement of taxes. Now the proposition was brought forward to grant to the petitioners a part of the western lands. Accordingly, May 10, 1792, the Legislature adopted the following preamble and resolution:

“Upon the memorial of the inhabitants of the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, showing to this Assembly that many of the inhabitants of said towns, suffered great losses by the devastations of the enemy during the late war, praying a compensation therefor; and on report of a committee appointed by this Assembly, at their sessions held at Hartford, in May 1791, to ascertain from documents in the public offices, the amount of the losses of the said memorialists, and others, under similar circumstances, which had been estimated conformably to acts of this Legislature, being such as were occasioned by incursions of the enemy during the late war, distinguishing the losses of buildings and necessary furniture from those of other articles by said documents, or otherwise; and also, to ascertain the advancements which have been made to the sufferers, by abatement of taxes or otherwise; and report the same, with their opinion relative to the ways and means of affording further relief, as per memorial and report on file,

Resolved by this Assembly, That there be, and there here-

by is, released and quit-claimed to the sufferers hereafter named, or their legal representatives where they are dead, and to their heirs and assigns forever, five hundred thousand acres of the lands belonging to this State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania, and bounding northerly on the shore of Lake Erie, beginning at the west line of said lands, and extending eastward to a line running northerly and southerly, parallel to the east line of said tract of land belonging to this State, and extending the whole width of said lands, and easterly, so far as to make said quantity of five hundred thousand acres of land exclusive of any lands within said bounds, if any be, which may have been heretofore granted, to be divided to and among the said sufferers, and their legal representatives, where they are dead, in proportion to the several sums annexed to their names, as follows in the annexed list."

The resolution then enumerates the sufferers under their respective towns, and assigns to each one his amount of loss as the committee had found. In all there are 1870 persons, and an aggregate loss of £161,548 11s. These lands, known in Connecticut history as the "Sufferers Lands," and in Ohio history as the "Fire Lands," are comprised, for the most part, in the present counties of Huron and Erie. In time the sufferers were duly incorporated, both in Connecticut and Ohio, with the title, "The Proprietors of the Half Million Acres of Land lying south of Lake Erie." In time the lands were duly surveyed and divided among the proprietors. Connecticut granted the sufferers only the soil, retaining the jurisdiction in her own hands.

In May, 1793, the General Assembly appointed a committee of eight men, one from each county in the State, to sell the remaining lands and to execute deeds for them, accepting such proposals as not less than six of the committee should consider advantageous, provided that not more than six years time should be allowed for completing the payments, and that the deferred payments should bear interest at six per cent. In October of the same year the Assembly took the following action:

"An Act Establishing Funds for the Support of the Ministry and Schools of Education.

"BE IT ENACTED, etc., That the moneys arising from the sale of the territory belonging to the State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania, be and the same is hereby established a perpetual fund, the interest whereof is granted and shall be appropriated to the use and benefit of the several ecclesiastical societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations in this State, to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the gospel and schools of education, under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by this or some future session of the General Assembly."

At that time State and Church were considerably mixed up in Connecticut; the "towns" and the "societies" or churches were but different aspects of the same politico-ecclesiastical corporations; and the Congregational churches long had almost exclusive control of public education. The act just quoted was preceded by a long and earnest discussion in the Legislature; and it was followed by one longer and more earnest throughout the State. This discussion had the effect to suspend the sale of the lands, and the legislation of 1792 were finally repealed.

The General Assembly of the State, in May, 1795, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, by this Assembly, That a committee be appointed to receive any proposals that may be made by any person or persons, whether inhabitants of the United States or others, for the purchase of the lands belonging to this State lying west of the west line of Pennsylvania as claimed by said State; and the said committee are hereby fully authorized and empowered, in the name and behalf of this State, to negotiate with any such person or persons on the subject of any such proposals. And, also, to form and complete any contract or contracts for the sale of said lands, and to make and execute, under their hands and seals, to the purchaser or purchasers, a deed or deeds, duly authenticated, quitting, in behalf of this State, all right, title, and interest, juridical and territorial, in and to the said lands, to him or them, and to his or their heirs forever. That before the executing of such

deed or deeds, the purchaser or purchasers shall give their personal note or bond, payable to the treasurer of this State, for the purchase money, carrying an interest of six per centum, payable annually, to commence from the date thereof, or from such future period, not exceeding two years, from the date, as circumstances, in the opinion of the committee, may require, and as may be agreed on between them and the said purchaser or purchasers, with good and sufficient sureties, inhabitants of this State, or with sufficient deposit of bank or other stock of the United States, or of the particular States, which note or bond shall be taken payable at a period not more remote than five years from the date; or, if by annual installments, so that the last installment be payable within ten years from the date, either in specie, or in six per cent., three per cent., or deferred stock of the United States, at the discretion of the committee. That if the committee shall find that it will be most beneficial to the State or its citizens to form several contracts for the sale of said lands, they shall not consummate any of the said contracts apart by themselves while the others lie in a train of negotiation only, but all the contracts which taken together shall comprise the whole quantity of the said lands shall be consummated together, and the purchasers shall hold their respective parts or proportions as tenants in common of the whole tract or territory, and not in severalty. That said committee, in whatever manner they shall find it best to sell the said lands, whether by an entire contract or by several contracts, shall in no case be at liberty to sell the whole quantity for a principal sum less than one million of dollars in specie, or if day of payment be given for a sum of less value than one million of dollars in specie with interest at six per cent. per annum from the time of such sale."

And the same session the following:

"This Assembly do appoint John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmonds, Thomas Grosvenor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert, Esquires, a committee to negotiate a sale of the western lands belonging to this State lying west of the west line of Pennsylvania, as claimed by said State, according to a resolve for that purpose, passed at the present session of the General Assembly."

The Assembly also passed an act which repealed the

act of October, 1792, devoting the proceeds of the lands to the support of the ministry and education, and at the same time passed a new act which established the future school fund of the State. These are summaries of its three principal sections:

1. That the principal sum obtained from the sale of the said lands shall be a perpetual fund for the purposes hereinafter mentioned; and the interest arising therefrom shall be appropriated to the support of schools in the several societies constituted, or which shall be constituted, by law, in certain local bounds within the State.

2. As the said interest becomes due from time to time, it shall be paid over to the said societies, in their capacity as school societies, according to the list of polls and valuable estates of such societies respectively.

3. *Provided*, that whenever such society shall, in a legal meeting called for that sole purpose, by a two-thirds vote of the legal voters present, request of the General Assembly liberty to improve their proportion of said interest, or any part thereof, for the support of the Christian ministers or the public worship of God, the Assembly shall have full power to grant the request; and in case of such grant, the school society shall pay over the amount so granted to the religious societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations of Christians within its limits, to be proportioned to such societies, etc., according to the list of their respective inhabitants or numbers which, when such payments from time to time are made, shall have been last perfected; and in case there shall be in such school society any individuals who compose a part only of any such religious society, church, or congregation, then the proportion of such individuals shall be paid to the order of the body to which they belong.

In June of the same year the committee caused the action of the Legislature and the lands to be advertised in the newspapers of the State, and in Boston, Providence, Albany, New York, and Philadelphia. In August the committee met the second time, to see what response their advertisements would call out. Speculation in wild lands was epidemic in New England at the time, and a large number of would-be purchasers flocked to Hartford. The

report of the committee to the Legislature gives a full history of its proceedings, and also enables one to see what was going on among the bidders outside.

Elkanah Wilson offered \$1,000,000 for the lands; Zephania Swift, for himself and associates, the same; Col. Silas Pepoon, for himself and associates, \$1,130,000; Hart, Phelps, and others, \$1,150,000; James Sullivan, \$1,010,000; John Livingston, for himself and associates, \$1,250,000. Most of the bidders were Connecticut men, but Livingston belonged to New York, and had acquired some celebrity as a speculator in lands in the western part of that State. The Connecticut men seem to have been jealous of those competitors who were not such, and they formed themselves into what the report calls the "State Companies." Livingston offered to let the Connecticut men have a one-half interest in the purchase if his proposition was accepted; and they offered him an interest in the lands over and above 3,000,000 acres if he would withdraw from the contest, provided they obtained the lands. Livingston's offer was the largest one made, but the committee feared that difficulties between him and the Connecticut men would arise out of the moiety arrangement, and also that he could not give such security for the lands as they demanded. Livingston finally withdrew with the understanding that he should be admitted to a share of the excess over 3,000,000 acres, leaving the Connecticut men a clear field. The report contains the significant remark that the State Companies seemed to comprise all the inhabitants of the State who wished to interest themselves in the purchase, and that they appeared to have formed a coalition. In fact, the State Companies had become confederated through representatives called in the report "the agents." The withdrawal of Livingston and the formation of the coalition put an end to all competition. Recognizing this fact, the committee disregarded the rule that it had adopted requiring all propositions to be made in writing, and invited the agents to a personal conference, which immediately took place. In

this conference the agents submitted in writing an offer of twelve hundred thousand dollars, payable in five years, to bear interest at six per cent after two years from the delivery of the deeds, with such security as the Legislature required. The committee accepted the offer, and the agents gave a bond for \$100,000, binding themselves to complete the purchase. The seven agents were Oliver Phelps, William Hart, Samuel Mather, Elijah Hyde, Mathew Nicoll, Moses Clæveland, Gideon Granger, jr. Several of these are names well known to students of early Western Reserve History.

The sale was made August 12. * On September 2, 1795, the committee and the purchasers came together to complete the sale and purchase. There was a good deal of friction between the two parties, but this was allayed and the transaction completed. The printed form of deed used begins with reciting the resolutions adopted by the Legislature in May, and then proceeds as follows:

"Now, know ye, that we, John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmonds, Thomas Grosvenor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert, being the committee in the said last recited resolve, in pursuance of and agreeable to the trust reposed in us by said recited resolve, having formed sundry contracts with divers persons for the sale of said lands, which contracts, taken together, compose the whole quantity of said lands, for the consideration of ——— dollars, secured to be paid agreeable to the terms of said resolves, to the full satisfaction of said committee, by ———, of ———, in the county of ———, in the State of ———, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged—Do by these presents, in behalf of the State of Connecticut, grant to the said ———, and to his heirs forever, all right, title and interest, judicial and territorial, in and to ——— twelve hundred thousandths of the lands described in said first mentioned resolve, to be held by the said ——— as tenants in common of said whole tract or territory with the other purchasers, and not in severalty."

The seven agents, to whom the sale had been made, were the representatives of what would to-day be called a "syndicate," consisting, for the most part, of Connecticut men, formed to buy and sell these lands. Their sole purpose and object was speculative. The journal of the committee says thirty-six deeds were made, but only thirty-five are found in the records of Trumbull county. Each deed was made to what in law is called a "purchaser," but some of the purchasers were several different individuals; besides, some of these represented others, whose names do not appear on the list of purchasers or in the deeds. The names of forty-eight men appear on the list, and as many as fifty seven persons are said to have been directly interested in the purchase. It will be seen that each deed conveyed to the purchaser, whether one individual or more, as many twelve-hundred-thousandths of the whole tract of land as he had agreed to pay dollars to the total purchase money, but in common with the other purchasers, and not in severalty.

No money was paid to the State at the time. Each purchaser gave his bond, with approved personal security, for as many dollars as he received twelve-hundred-thousandths of the land. The committee's report shows that the purchasers had no small difficulty to furnish the security that was demanded; and a careful examination of the bonds made reveals the fact that the members of the syndicate helped one another, the man who appears on one bond as principal appearing on other bonds as a surety. Much more of this helping one another was allowed than would be considered business-like to-day, unless in a Western town smitten by a real estate mania. However, the committee say they are satisfied the security is for the time sufficient, but do not know how it will be in five years. At a later time, however, the purchasers secured the State by giving mortgages on the lands.

Such are the material facts in the history of the great-

est land transaction in the history of Ohio, so far as quantity of land sold is concerned. It was a large business transaction of any kind for the time. Moreover, it was at once followed by very interesting and important events, as the settlement of the Western Reserve, and the establishment of home government within its limits.

The Connecticut School Fund, which amounts to something more than two million dollars, consists wholly of the proceeds of those lands and of capitalized interest. Hon. C. D. Hine, the Secretary of the State Board of Education, questions the current opinion that this fund has promoted the cause of public education. He said two or three years ago:

"The School Fund, derived from the sale of Western lands, yielded an income last year of \$120,855, which amounts to eighty cents for each person of the school age. The average expense of educating each of these persons throughout the State, is \$10.31, so that the fund now furnishes about eight per cent. of the total cost. In those towns and cities where the people insist upon good schools, no reliance is placed upon these permanent funds. Indeed, the history of our State shows conclusively that at the time when the fund was most productive, yielding \$1.40 or \$1.50 for each person of the school age, and when towns depended upon it, as they generally did, for the support of their schools, the schools themselves were poor and short. In fact, this was the darkest period of our educational experience. A very striking deterioration took place as soon as the fund became productive and the income began to be distributed. Before that period schools had been maintained at least six months, and at most nearly the whole year, according to the size of the district. After, and not long after, this new source of income was opened, the usual length of the schools was reduced to only three months, or just the time that this fund would maintain the schools. The sums which came as gratuities relieved the people of responsibility and deadened their interest, until the schools were continued only so long as the charity lasted. Happily, the danger from this direction is passed and cannot return. The

fund has probably reached its greatest productiveness, and the *per capita* will constantly decrease. The public schools must draw their sustenance from the people who are directly or indirectly benefited by them."¹

B. A. HINSDALE.

¹ The Nation, No. 1076.

DOWN SOUTH BEFORE THE WAR.

RECORD OF A RAMBLE TO NEW ORLEANS IN 1858.

ON the second day of December, 1857, in company with my friend and fellow-student, Alexis E. Holcombe, of Ravenna, Ohio, I started on an unpremeditated journey through Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana. A tolerably complete diary kept during the six months of our sojourn in the South furnishes the material of the following narrative:

We set out from Lebanon, Ohio, by stage-coach for Cincinnati, from which city we went on the steamer *Bostona* to Maysville, Kentucky. From Maysville we proceeded to Flemingsburg, and thence to Poplar Plains, tarrying a few days in each of the three towns. Continuing our trip to Mount Sterling, which we reached December 23, we put up at the Ashton House, a very pleasant hotel, where we remained until January 5, 1858. On Christmas day the streets of Mount Sterling were thronged with colored folks, dressed in their Sunday apparel, and bent on pleasure. We were told that it had long been the custom in Kentucky to grant the slaves absolute freedom from duty on Christmas, and, indeed, to allow them large liberty during the entire Holiday week.

By ten o'clock on New Year's morning the town was overflowing with a much greater multitude than was seen on Christmas. White and black; male and female; men, women, children of all ranks and conditions, in wheeled vehicles, on horseback, on foot,—hundreds came pouring in from every direction. Owner and owned flocked from various parts of the county to readjust their property relations for the ensuing year. It was the day set apart for slave-holders to sell, buy, let and hire human chattels. And the slaves were permitted to exercise a limited privilege of choosing new homes and masters.

Some servants were loaned by way of friendly accommodation, many were rented or leased at a rate of from \$50 to \$200 a year. One woman was crying because it had fallen to her lot to serve a mistress whom she feared. "If I could only please her," sobbed the poor girl, "I wouldn't care; but she won't like me, she won't like me." The greater number of the slaves seemed stupid and indifferent to their fate. The natural cheerfulness of the race was exhibited in sharp contrast with the melancholy background which their condition as bond-people afforded. At a street corner a hilarious group of Sambos and Cuffeys laughed and danced to the lively thrum of a banjo, played by a grinning minstrel black as ebony.

A comical old fellow wearing the picturesque ruin of a silk hat on his gray, wooly pate, limped about with grotesque antics, informing everybody that he was a "spoilt darkey," and that he would "be of no use to anybody" who might hire him.

In the yard of the Court House — temple of blind justice, — a black man was put up at noon-day on the auction block, and was sold to the highest bidder. The crier announced the name and age of the human vendible standing there for public inspection, and vouched that "Jack" was sound in all respects. Perhaps it was mere curiosity, perhaps some irresistible impulse of the abolitionist blood of my father crying in my veins "Man is man, no man is more," that impelled me to walk up to the block, and speak to the dusky brother who was "going, going," and soon would be "gone" for the market price. He told me that he had a wife in Mount Sterling, from whom he did not wish to part. "I don't care who buys me, I ain't afraid of no cruel master; but I want to stay close to wife and chil'en."

The man was sold for \$750, a very low price, the bystanders said, and I thought so, too. I was ashamed to look the unfortunate "property" in the face, for he must have felt very cheap under the circumstances.

On Christmas Eve, a gang of colored hands from the "Iron Works," came in joyful procession to Mount Sterling. Their captain headed the line, improvising and singing in a loud voice, such couplets as:

"Oh Lord have mercy on my soul,
De hens and chickens I has stole."

At the close of each line the whole squad would join in a jubilant chorus, animating to hear. The sooty troubadours of the "Iron Works," were coming home to spend the holidays, and were abandoning themselves to the pleasure of anticipation. After the week had been spent in idleness, laughter and general jollification, the reluctant company returned, in slow procession, and again they sang, but now in a mournful strain. The leader, improvising his solo as before, changed its tenor to suit his mood:

"Fare ye well, ye white folks all!"

The wild, sad chorus came swelling from the marching column, as from some melodious instrument:

Chorus—"Wo—o—o—o—o—o—o!"

Solo—"And fare ye well, ye niggers, too!"

Chorus—"Wo—o—o—o—o—o—o!"

Solo—"I holler dis time, I holler no mo!"

Chorus—"Wo—o—o—o—o—o—o!"

Thus went on the strange song and chorus, as the slaves filed back to their labor, tramp, tramp, tramp; and the tones grew fainter in the distance, till at last the dying, "Wo—o—o—o—o—o—o!" was lost in the silence of the winter night.

While the dark procession was passing through the street, I noticed one figure drop out of the file, hurry to a small gate and look anxiously into a side yard. A girl flew down to meet him, took his hand, kissed him, and turning towards the house, went back slowly, her apron lifted to her eyes. The man glided to his place in the moving column, and his voice joined the melancholy refrain.

On January 5, we set out on foot, from Mount Sterling:

for Lexington. At night-fall we found ourselves by a farm house, and knocked at the door. A bustling old lady, whom we learned was called "Aunt Patsey," very cordially invited us in, saying, "You may be kin folks, but the Lord knows who." We told her that we were not kin folks, yet we hoped the Lord had not forgotten us, at which desperate joke she laughed, and made us heartily welcome. The room into which we were received had an old-fashioned, wide fire-place, piled with blazing logs; a kettle simmered on the crane, and a black-woman was roasting coffee in a skillet on the coals. A not unpleasant incident connected with our entertainment was, that next morning, when we offered to pay our host, that bluff farmer showed signs of indignation, and reminded us that we were in old Kentucky, where hospitality was given, and not sold.

We spent several days in Lexington, the first seat of culture in the Ohio Valley, known long ago as the Athens of the West. Of course we visited Transylvania University, and historic Ashland, the home of Henry Clay. A thirty-two miles ride in a stage-coach brought us from Lexington to Danville. The scenery along the Kentucky River is magnificent, and to its natural charm the interest of romantic historical association is added. From one point we looked down upon the solitudes "where once Boone trod," the forest still retaining its primeval aspect. The stage-driver pointed to a knob, which, tradition says, was the site of the famous backwoodsman's hut.

Danville we found so delightful that we lingered there for nearly a month, enjoying social and intellectual intercourse with some of the most polite and pleasant people of that cultivated town. Here was to be seen, in its full attractiveness, that typical life and behavior which characterize the best families of Virginia and Kentucky. High courtesy, chivalrous regard for woman, open-handed generosity, a proud sense of personal honor, liberal

reading in the line of general literature, and a readiness to entertain and be entertained by social pleasures, were leading attributes of the men. The reactive influences playing between the town and its educational institutions, gave a vitality and piquancy to local society and relieved it from provincialism. In Danville we enjoyed the privilege of acquaintance with the famous pulpit orator, Robert J. Breckenridge D. D., an uncle of Vice President Breckenridge.

About the middle of February we resumed our rambling journey, and went, by way of Frankfort, to Louisville, where we took the steamer *Great Western* for Memphis. The voyage down the lower Ohio; the impression made upon the mind by a first view of the wonderful Mississippi, its tumultuous waters at high flood; and the novel experience of living on a floating residence which was itself a curious little world, I will not try to describe. Suffice it to say that, to my excited fancy, the days on board the *Great Western* were so enchanting that I wrote in my journal, "I wish it were a thousand miles to Memphis."

It came to pass, however, on the night of February 21, that our craft was for a time in such peril, that passengers and crew wished themselves anywhere else than where we were. A thick fog enveloped the swollen river, and a dismal sleet was falling upon the icy deck. The clock-hand pointed to ten; many of the passengers had gone to their berths, but a few were toasting their toes at the stove in the gentlemen's cabin. The captain, with some jolly friends, sat at a table playing "seven-up." A sudden, violent ringing of the engine bells startled all listeners, for it was the signal to reverse the wheels and check the boat's motion. At the same moment an officer rushed into the cabin, and delivered the brief message "Captain, here's hell!" The alarming announcement was not comforting to unprepared sinners. In consternation we hurried to the deck, at the captain's heels. A glance through the

stygian fog almost made us think that the officer's words were literally true, for, just ahead, glowing in the dark, we saw the red mouths of the furnaces of an up-steam packet. Both boats were under full headway, but ours was going with the greater velocity, borne down by the force of a swift current. Not far away glared several red, warning lights above the wrecks of two steamers that had recently been sunk by a collision such as now threatened the *Great Western*. But steam rescued our lives. The two vessels came so near together that a man might have stepped from deck to deck. But a miss was as good as a mile. We went back to the cabin and resumed our sins, the captain and his friends continuing their game of "seven up." Before morning we arrived at Memphis.

My journal records little of Memphis, save that we stopped at the *Commercial House*; that the streets were muddy; and that we each purchased a sword-cane, with what blood-thirsty intention I remember not.

Scraping the Memphian mud from our feet we took the train for Panola, a county-seat in northern Mississippi. Accident seated me in the car beside a remarkably curious human creature who told me his name was Sharp, and that he was a school-master. I will picture him, beginning the portrait at the top. Professor Sharp's head was round and dirty, with small eyes like painted marbles, a frouzy, yellowish tangle of hair, an exceedingly long, skinny neck, and a greasy Panama hat. There was no positive and but faint circumstantial evidence that he wore a shirt; his coat and pantaloons were made of the same material, homespun cloth, dyed with logwood. The trousers legs terminated some eight inches above his feet, drawers were visible below, and still lower, wrinkled socks descended into a pair of capacious shoes. The function of an overcoat was fulfilled by an old horse-blanket with a hole in the middle, through which the school-master thrust his aforesaid head, after the style of the Indians.

Mr. Sharp took off his Panama hat, and, setting the crown carefully upon his knees, drew from its depths divers and sundry pieces of folded paper covered with writing — "documents," he said they were — which he studied diligently with silent contortions of mouth, as if spelling amazingly crooked words. Prof. Sharp informed me that he taught "the branches" for ten cents a day, per pupil; that he also gave lessons in "penmanship and all kinds of painting." I asked where his residence was, and he replied that his present "predestination" was Panola.

The region we passed through on the way to Panola was flat and swampy; covered with a thick forest of scrub-oak and cypress trees, with here and there a bush of dark green holly. There was no public conveyance, and so we were obliged to make our way for a mile on foot, in the boggy woods, amid tangled bushes and over logs, to the village, which we reached at nightfall. We were cordially received by the landlord of a small, newly built inn, bearing the name of Planter's Hotel. Mine host was talkative, and gave us graphic accounts of the principal characters of the neighborhood. Panola boasted a famous hunter, who, returning from the woods one day, with a crestfallen air, swore he would break his gun, and never shoot again.

"Why, Bob, what's the matter?"

"The matter! Bad luck! I saw eight wild turkeys in a flock, and killed only seven!"

While we were sitting by the fire listening to the tales of a landlord, a tall, slim, keen-eyed man came in shivering with cold. He had just taken up a runaway slave and lodged him in jail. Telling this with a swagger of triumph, he flung his hat upon a table, saying, "Damn the niggers; I wish they would behave decent."

After a night's rest, we started out bright and early on the morning of February 23, intending to walk to Granada, a distance of forty-eight miles. Our course was through interminable forests of scrub-oak and pine, the

pine becoming more abundant as we proceeded southward. The first plantations we saw were large clearings in the woods, with fields of irregular shape. Every farm had its cotton-press and gin-house, with huge heaps of cotton seed rotting on the ground. The planter's residence was located usually near the center of his land, and not far from it stood the collection of huts in which the negroes were lodged.

The vigorous exercise of walking gave us a keen appetite, and as mid-day approached we began to cast about for refreshment. We stopped at more than one domicile, but either the inmates did not like our looks, or were lacking in hospitality, for they sent us away empty. This was before the era of professional *tramps*; therefore, we could hardly have been mistaken for gentlemen of that luxurious class. A woman, suspiciously standing guard at her threshold, when we asked whether she could favor us with a dinner, answered "I reckon not. Our cook is not at home." "But," pleaded my friend Alexis, very politely, "we are very hungry, and we don't want a warm dinner." "Haint got no cold victuals," was the response, and the door was shut in our faces.

Trudging on, we came at length to a very primitive shanty in the midst of a dreary waste of pine woods. The skins of small animals were stretched and nailed on the cabin to dry. In desperation I knocked at the rude door of this lodge in the wilderness. A gaunt, big-boned man wearing a hunter's dress opened the door, and said, "Come right in. Take a cheer," he added; but he must have meant this figuratively, for there was not a chair in the room. Mr. Holcombe sat down upon a three-legged stool, and I upon the foot of a trundle-bed. We made known our peptic condition, and our host, who looked as if he had often been hungry himself, and knew how to sympathize, assured us that our demands should be supplied. He vanished, but reappeared in half an hour, saying, "Now, gents, walk out and take a bite." We followed

him out through the door by which we had entered, and around a duck pond, to the dining-room, a rickety *lean-to*, in the rear of the main edifice. This back-room seemed to be the apartment in which the family preferred to live. The floor consisted of the natural earth. There was a rude table, with a bench at one side, on which we took seat. The banquet served by the mistress of the manor comprised two courses, namely, corn-bread with peas, and bacon with peas. Our host and his wife stood by while we ate, and the audience was increased by the appearance of a gawky boy, and two big girls. The bashful maidens were clad with a sparse simplicity that Greek civilization might have envied. The ludicrous scene received a finishing touch when, at the heels of the gawky boy and his sisters, a lank dog came in followed by four lean cats and one inquisitive goose.

I should like to relate what further befell us on the memorable journey to Granada; how we stayed all night at a planter's; how, at the village of Oakland, we were hailed by a tipsy crowd, and invited to a wedding by a brother of the bride, a gentleman with long, curled hair and blue spectacles, who said he was a lawyer, and swore that it was his treat, and we must on no account continue our journey without taking something—either “trip-foot, rot-gut, pop-skull or bust-head;” how, evading these proffered hospitalities, we took passage in a stage-coach, which, after sticking fast for an hour in a mud-hole near a “slue-bridge,” finally brought us to the town we had set out to find.

Taking rooms in a public house in Granada, we felt that we were far enough south to stop awhile and enjoy the sensation. The first and necessarily superficial views which we had of life in this Mississippi town were rather favorable to the “peculiar institution;” or, at least, were such as to diminish prejudice, and shake confidence in the fairness of books like “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.” The moving scene presented on the streets of Granada, and on the

plantations of the vicinity, was painted in the colors of gaiety and contentment. No manifestation of cruelty on the part of masters could be discovered, and the black people appeared to be happy in their enslaved condition. On moonlight evenings a group of merry darkies—laughing men and capering piccaninnies—would gather in the public square, or in front of the hotel, and there to the rude music of a banjo, or an old fiddle, would sing, dance, fall to the ground, and pat “juber,” until, quite exhausted by the violence of the hilarious exercise, they would roll away to recover breath. Occasionally champions would engage in a butting contest to see whose woolly crown could batter in the head of a barrel; and sometimes this species of head-work was varied by the contestants butting one another after the manner of rams and billy-goats.

We had letters of introduction to the family of a wealthy planter whose great mansion and broad cotton-fields were located a few miles from the village. The Negro quarters on this plantation formed quite a village of log-cabins, disposed on both sides of a narrow street. Provided by our host with fine horses, we used to gallop about the plantation, or to town. When the weather was bad the great family coach was brought out, and the colored driver delighted to show his skill, while one or two footmen occupied their proud perch behind. Within the mansion all was comfort, ease and luxury. The mistress of the house managed her retinue of servants like a queen; and her daughter, and a niece visiting from Jackson, employed their time in dressing, conversation, and playing on the piano and guitar.

We were served at the hotel, chiefly by two attendants, “Richard” and “Paul.” Richard gave me such marked and unremitting personal care that I was at a loss to account for his vigilance until one day it was explained by the following conversation.

“Nobody cares for me down here,” complained Richard.

"Down here?" I replied. "What do you mean by that?"

"I'se hired out, you see; I lives away down in Virginia. Da'rs where Massa is. I wish't I was in Virginia, I do."

"What is your Master's name?"

"It's Judge Venable; a mighty nice man; I thought you might be a kin to him."

"No, Richard; I believe not; I do not live in Virginia."

"He's a mighty nice man," repeated Richard, in a tone distinctly implying his confidence in all who wore the family name. His appeal was irresistible, so Richard captured me.

Paul was a gentleman of less insinuating nature, but every bit as cunning. By virtue of his office as head waiter, he was allowed extra privileges, and by virtue of his audacity, he took liberties not allowed to him. He came frequently to our room with Richard, who appeared to be his intimate friend. Like Hamlet's Yorick, he "was a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." His familiarity never overstepped the bounds of respect, but there were times when, suddenly changing his demeanor, he would cast aside the buffoon, and assume an attitude and look almost haughty. At such a time, I was struck with his fine appearance, his lithe, athletic body, his handsome face, and daring eye that had in it something very mysterious, and something threatening.

Paul was a good dancer and singer, and could play upon various musical instruments. The most curious of these was one which he called a "song-bow," a simple contrivance, consisting of a string stretched tight from one end to the other of a long, flexible, narrow board or bow, and which the performer breathed upon in such a way as to cause a musical vibration, while, at the same time, he sang. The song and accompaniment were strangely blended, and the effect was not unpleasant. Besides

amusing us with the song-bow, Paul delighted to indulge in what he termed, "Nigger logic," that is, he would make a ridiculous, impromptu oration, abounding in sonorous words of his own coining.

One evening Paul came up, Richard in his wake as usual, and after regaling us with a touch of "Nigger logic," and a tune on the "song-bow," he requested me to write for him, while he dictated a love-letter. "I wants you to know, I'se dead in love with a liddle, yaller gal down to the Seminary. Here is de very window wher I used to come up and look at her. I'd stan' here till I seed her pass once, and den I'd turn roun', an' go back to work again."

"Much relieved, I suppose, Paul?"

"Yah! Yah! Yes sah, very much so."

Taking up a pen, I told Paul to go ahead with his letter, which he did, and I put down his language verbatim, as follows:

"DEAR MISS ANN:

It gibs me de greatest pleasure to hab dis opportunity to let you know, that I is well, as far as health is concerned."

Here Paul came to a full stop, and Richard ventured to suggest the propriety of next "axing of her, how she is." "No," said Paul, "I'se gwine to tell her a big lie now."

"Oh Miss Ann—Got that down?" I answered affirmatively and he continued to dictate:

"Tongue cannot compress de love I has for you. You is de darling of my heart, and de apple of my eye. For you, I could weep the alanthus tears that adornates the mighty ——"

At this interesting point, footsteps were heard in the hall, and the landlord's voice called loudly, "Richard! Richard!" Richard made a bee-line for the door, and I heard him submissively and innocently inquiring, "Didn't you call, Massa?"

Paul popped under the bed, where he remained until

the coast was clear, when he came forth, and the tender missive was completed. It was duly dispatched by mail, directed to the care of a young lady attending the Seminary—a boarding school—in which Miss Ann also resided, not as a student, but as a servant.

Within a few days, Paul received a reply, which he immediately brought to me, and which I still retain. Here is a copy of it:

— — — SEMINARY, Mar. 7, 1858.

MR. PAUL:

I embrace this opportunity of writing to you, as I did not have the chance of talking to you. I wish I could talk to you when I want to, but we cannot. I love to talk to you better than anybody else on Earth, for I love you so well, and I hope you love me as well as I do you, but I fear you do not, do you? If I thought you did not, I would die the death of love, which is the sweetest death to die. But I cannot believe you do not love me, your actions tell me you do, are they false? I think not, how could one who is so dear to me, be false? You are not false; I believe you will in the end, prove true to me. Do not let any one see this, for it is intended for no one's ears but yours. Answer this as soon as you can, for I want to know your feelings on this subject which I have broached. I cannot write any more, it is getting late, so good night, my loved one—

I have loved thee long and dearly,
I have loved thee most sincerely."

This *billet d'amour*, with its alternating ardors and doubts, was written in delicate chirography, evidently by the hand of some sentimental Seminary girl, at the dictation of the dusky lady Ann. The injunction, "do not let any one see this, for it is intended for no one's ears but yours," was irresistibly amusing in its impossible conditions. The young lady, who good naturedly penned the sentences for Miss Ann, must have been conscious that some white gentleman would probably read them, and thus her act might be construed as a covert challenge to flirtation on her own account. Therefore it was not without a play of fancy between the lines that a reply

was written to Miss Ann, such as might entertain, but not offend, some other lady's ears and eyes.

It came to light, on or about the 20th of March, 1858, that Paul had been engaged in practices more deep and dangerous than gallant correspondence, or clandestine playing on the "song-bow." A drama of tragic import was going on about us, and this playful black tiger was the principal actor. A number of fugitives had mysteriously escaped from the cotton plantations, and fled to the North. Suspicion of complicity attached to Paul. A search of the garret of the hotel disclosed two or three slaves, who had been concealed and fed for several days, with the expectation of gliding away at some favorable opportunity, by night. One of these proved to be the father of Paul's wife. Paul's story, as he told it to me was, that he had himself once been a field-hand, and that he was happily married. He related that his master, attracted by the beauty of the woman, was guilty of rape, and that, enraged beyond forbearance, he, Paul, had retaliated by endeavoring to kill his master. Boldly approaching the object of his vengeance, in the cotton field, he shot at him, and wounded him in the leg. This attempt on his master's life was, according to the laws of Mississippi, punishable with death. In fact, he was condemned, but, by the intercession of the master, who valued Paul as a good, though dangerous piece of property, the man was pardoned. The wife and her father were sold to a sugar plantation in southern Mississippi. Paul had been transferred from the plantation to the town, and had proven himself an excellent waiter. But he had secretly cherished plans to aid his colored friends to escape to the North, and then to follow them himself.

The discovery of the concealed fugitives caused intense excitement and anger. Paul was taken to a shed in the edge of the village, and there "bucked," as it is called; that is, bound in such a position that he was helpless; the clothing was then stripped from his back, and he was

beaten with a raw-hide, to extort from him a full confession. But he would not tell a single thing; not the name of any one connected with the conspiracy, nor how many had already escaped. His inquisitors now resorted to a more terrible instrument of torture—the “hot paddle,” a flat piece of wood with holes bored in it. This horrible “paddle” was used to smite the victim’s naked flesh, but even this failed to unseal the brave fellow’s lips. The utmost that could be got from him was, “Master, you may kill me, but I won’t tell.” At length he was unbound and taken back to the hotel, where, for more than a week, he was confined to his bed by his wounds.

Meanwhile, preparations were made for the pursuit and capture of such fugitives as had probably crossed the Yalobusha, and were on the way North. A band of professional slave-catchers was employed to bring back the lost property. Never can I forget the startling sight which I beheld one forenoon from the window of my room. Four or five desperate-looking men, with knives and pistols in their belts, and riding horses, which, like themselves, were splashed with mud, came galloping along the street, and stopped in front of the hotel. One of the men put to his lips a whistle or small horn, which he blew, and in response to the blast, came a pack of lean and hungry hounds. To each dog was thrown a piece of raw meat. The men went into the bar-room, took a drink of whisky, and then, remounting the horses, they rode rapidly away, followed by the fugitive-hunting hounds.

One afternoon Mr. Holcombe and I were rowing on the Yalobusha River. We brought our skiff to shore in a little cove, and what was our surprise to see Paul seated upon the bank, with a fishing-rod in his hands. For the first time since his punishment, he was out by permission, for a sort of dismal holiday.

“Well, Paul,” I said, “they treated you pretty badly, didn’t they?”

“I’ll be even with them some day” was the sullen reply.

Then, looking up quickly, he added, "Gentlemen, you's been kind to me, and I wants to be kind to you. And now let me tell you, it aint safe for you to be seen a talking to us niggers, specially to me. You'd better look out, anyhow; they is suspicious of you." The same hint came to us from another quarter.

However, we made no haste to leave the town, for we had formed many pleasant acquaintances. When we were ready to seek "fresh woods and pastures new," we engaged seats in the stage-coach for Goodman, a point seventy-five miles farther south. The coach left Granada at midnight. Paul and Richard were up to see us off.

The stage ride was tedious, keeping us on the road nearly twenty-four hours, and we reached Goodman, then the northern terminus of the Southern Railroad, late in the night of March 24th. After a short sleep in a temporary shed at the new station, we resumed our journey, taking the cars for Jackson at three in the morning. Our course lay through swampy lands overgrown with trees, many of which were the victims of that melancholy parasite, the Spanish moss. The train halted at a lonely station, and I was surprised to see the engineer, conductor and passengers jump to the ground, and rush to a half-cleared field, in which logs lay rotting, and deadened trees stood stretching their spectral arms to the sky. I followed the crowd, and soon discovered the cause of the rush. Beside a moldering log lay the body of a murdered man, ghastly, horrible, smeared with clotted blood. Hungry flies were clustering around the gaping wounds.

At Jackson we took passage on a freight train for Vicksburg. I was accommodated with a seat on the top of a load of cotton bales, and as the cars went rumbling along through a fine country, on a delightful spring day, I experienced the keenest sense of pleasure, both from the novelty of my situation, and the consciousness of having nothing to do but to do nothing and enjoy the Sunny South.

After glimpsing Vicksburg, we embarked on the mag-

nificent steamer *Pacific*, which bore us to the enchanting city of New Orleans. My journal attests how active and complete was the enjoyment of two young fellows from the North, plunging for the first time into the delights of the metropolis of the South. I will not detail our experiences at the famous St. Charles Hotel; our raptures at theater and opera; our excursions to Ponchartrain; our strolls along Rue Royal to the French Quarter, with its steep-roofed houses, veranda, and dormer windows, and quaint shops; our loiterings in the renowned market, where brown-eyed children offer to the passer-by, for only a picayune, a tempting handful of dates, prunes, figs or strawberries, and where we resorted daily for a delicious cup of "café-au-lait."

One reminiscence of the Crescent City, however, I must give with some particularity, for it relates to an experience which few Northern persons have sought, and which no traveler can now repeat anywhere in the world.

While coming on the steamer from Vicksburg to New Orleans I formed the acquaintance of a young man, who invited me to call on him when I reached the city, and very cordially offered to show me the "elephant," or any other curiosity that the menagerie contained. The young gentleman's familiarity excited some suspicion as to his character, but he seemed so good-humored that I asked him where he might be found. He wrote on a card his name and address, "No. 71 and 73, Barrone street."

"You'll find me at the office there," said he.

"May I ask what your business is?" I inquired.

"Oh, I am a clerk in the office," was the evasive reply.

"What kind of an office?"

"Why the place where I stay. Come around and you'll see."

I kept the card, and, after spending some time in the city, it occurred to me to look up "No. 71 and 73, Barrone street." These numbers were easily found over the door of a large building, on the front of which was painted the

sign "VIRGINIA NEGROES FOR SALE." My steamboat acquaintance greeted me at the door with a genial smile, saying, "Now you see what our business is. I thought you might like to know from observation something about the slave trade."

He afterwards showed us through several of the principal slave marts of the city. The first one entered was under the control of a coarse-looking man who promptly inquired if we "wanted to buy any Niggers?" Our courteous guide whispered something to the trader, whereupon the latter, taking a small bell, such as I have often seen in the hands of a Northern school-master, said gruffly, "We have but little stock on hand; the trade has been quite brisk." Here he gave the bell a tap, and immediately, from their stables at the rear of the building, the stock came marching, in two files, the one of men and boys, the other of women and girls. I could not fail to notice that there were also three or four babies in arms. The tallest in each line headed the column, then the next in height, and so on down to the toddlekins at the foot of the class. The files stood ranged along opposite walls, as if drawn up for a spelling match. They were dressed in coarse stuff, an appropriate, simple uniform being provided for each sex. It happened that while we were staring with natural embarrassment at the docile stock before us, a party of three sugar-planters came in to inspect and purchase a lot of field hands. They walked up and down the rows, making many inquiries, and examining closely the human chattels they expected to buy. We learned that a good Knight of Labor was worth about \$1500. One of the planters picked out a number of slaves, male and female, who, one by one, stepped from the ranks, and stood huddled together in a group. There was much chaffering as to the price of certain children, who, being regarded as incumbrances, mere colts or calves, were thrown in for good measure, and the sale and purchase were

completed in our presence, and the property duly transferred.

There sat, in a show window, where she could be seen by every passer-by on the street, a handsome quadroon girl dressed attractively, and adorned with some ribbons and jewels. She, too, was for sale, as a choice house-servant, at a high price on account of her beauty. As our friend the planter was about to leave the premises he glanced at this girl, and asked what the trader would take for her. Being told, he shook his head, leered at the slave, and said, with an oath, "Too expensive."

It was a perfect afternoon in early April, when, threading our way through the throng that swarmed in the sunshine on New Orleans levee, we reached the steamboat landing, and footed the gang-plank to the deck of that floating palace, the *Princess*. The great bell rings out a signal for departure. The mighty engines groan, as their pent power heaves against the hot cylinder. The strong machinery strains its iron muscles, the steam hisses, the engine-bells jingle, the huge wheels slowly revolve, scooping the water into foaming ridges, the steamer quivers like a living thing, through all her enormous length and breadth. She rounds into the stream. Those clamorous Italian fruit-sellers unfasten their shallops from her bow, and toss a shower of oranges on deck as a farewell salute. The Negro dock-hands join in a loud, melodious chorus, and we are fairly on our way up river. We steam by the great Crevasse; we gaze out on the woody shores, and the planters' mansions of the "Coast." And now to the hurricane deck, and the picturesque pilot-house with its never-resting, ever-anxious wheel. The sun goes down. Dusky night settles on the mighty stream, and turns the trees along the shores to phantoms. A soft, voluptuous breeze comes laden with the scent of orange flowers. Lights gleam from the cottages that seem to glide southward as we pass. The stars come out and spangle all the sky.

Whither bound? We hardly know, we scarcely care. Let us stop at Bayo Sara, and see what that is like. The name at least sounds distinguished. We will go ashore at Bayo Sara, or shall it be Port Hudson? The toss of a penny shall decide. Port Hudson then, let it be; and we landed there, some fifty miles north of Baton Rouge, to find a dilapidated village. Port Hudson, somehow, made us melancholy; when the *Princess* steamed away and was lost to sight, we felt deserted and injured.

We presently discovered a means of escape from Port Hudson to the inland. There was a railroad running eastward. The track was laid with the old-fashioned, flat rails, over which only one train a day was conducted, consisting of half a dozen freight cars, and one worn-out passenger coach, drawn by an asthmatic and weak-minded locomotive in the last stages of decrepitude. Availing ourselves of this traveling facility, we were lazily carried along, in the ethereal mildness of a dreamy day, toward the village of Clinton, in the heart of East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. The snail's pace at which the cars crept, might have suggested the humorist's precaution of putting the cow-catcher at the rear of the train, to keep the cattle from walking in. More than once, the engine rested to allow grazing animals leisure to get out of the way gracefully, and without undignified haste. At a charming curve in the road, by good fortune, a truck ran off the track, and while the engineer and brakemen were prying it on again, the passengers took an indolent stroll and gathered Cherokee roses. The slow progress of this most accommodating train, gratified our idle mood, and to my imagination, seemed according to the poetical proprieties of an entrance into the subtropical enjoyments of Feliciana Parish. Feliciana! We actually moved through a paradise of vernal bloom. Standing on the platform of our triumphal car, we gathered a variety of flowers from the overhanging trees, and gadding vines that trailed within reach, as we went along.

On our arrival at Clinton, a black dray-man asked where we wished our baggage to go. We had been directed to stop at a quiet inn named *Our House*, kept by a widow. We were shown to a snug sitting-room, neatly furnished, and hung with lace curtains. On a small center table, we observed a vase, in which were arranged some clusters of wild honey-suckle. In one corner of the room was a sofa, on which lay a guitar, a jaunty hat, and fresh materials for a not yet arranged bouquet. This sentimental property belonged to the widow's daughter, a romantic girl, who surprised both herself and us, by bounding into the door, only to retire in blushing confusion, on discovering two strangers.

The last week of April found me at Woodville, Mississippi, a pleasant town surrounded by woods of pine and magnolia. I associate with the village a curious interview which I had, in a dismal place, with two colored men. The scene was a grave-yard—the “Nigger burying ground”—a gloomy grove, from the trees of which depended funereal festoons of Spanish moss. An old man—a slave said to be a hundred years old, had rolled from his sleeping pallet in the night, and fallen on his face to the floor, and was dead when discovered next morning. Preparation was at once made for his burial, and I chanced upon the spot where his last bed was making. An aged delver was at work with mattock and spade in the grave, which was nearly completed. Basking on the ground, at the pit's edge, lay a young man who seemed to be guarding a dinner basket, and at the same time superintending the work of Uncle Pete, for by that name he addressed the gray-pated old veteran of the spade. As I came near, both saluted me with the usual bows and words of servility. Presently Uncle Pete paused from his digging, and looking straight into my eyes, asked, “You is from de Norf, isn't you?”

“Yes, I am, but how do you know?”

"I know'd the minute I saw you," was the unsatisfactory answer. "Do you know wha' Canada is?"

"Yes, but I don't live there."

"Wha' do you live, Massa?"

"In Ohio."

"I never heard of that. But we all knows of Canada."

Here Uncle Pete glanced at the young man, who was reticent and cautious. For a few minutes nothing was heard but the thud of the mattock in the clay. Then Uncle Pete, casting that implement aside, took his spade; but instead of going on with his task, he leaned upon the spade-handle, and said, deliberately:

"Massa, may I ask you something?"

"Ask what you please."

"Can you 'splain how it happened, in the fust place, that the white folks got the start of the black folks, so as to make dem de slaves and do all de work?"

Here the guard of the dinner basket, with a furtive look of alarm, broke in: "Uncle Pete, it's no use talkin'. It's fo'ordained. It's fo'ordained. The Bible tells you that. The Lord fo'ordained the Nigger to work, and the white man to boss."

This theological view of the subject seemed to settle the question, and to crush Uncle Pete. The old man put his hands to his wooly crown and scratched, with a puzzled face. "Dat's so;" he assented, as if talking to himself. "Dat's so." Then, in a tone of mixed despair and defiance: "But *if* dat's so, then God's no fair man!"

The inflamed condition of the public mind in regard to slavery at the period of our visit to the South, made it somewhat dangerous for us to talk to the colored people, or to let it be known that we were from the North. Readers will remember that the Kansas-Nebraska struggle was in progress; that the Fugitive Slave Law was agitating the country; that at the very time we set out, in 1857, John Brown was laying his plans to invade Virginia, and that, while we were in Louisiana, he organized the

"True Friends of Freedom." Murat Halstead characterizes the South as "The Torrid Zone of Our Politics," and Southern Mississippi is not far from its equator. More than once, as might have been anticipated, the unaccountable young fellows who were strolling about, asking queer questions, became the subject of suspicious remark. At a certain small town, in Jefferson Davis's State, we discovered a Yankee school-master, who was just pluming his wings for flight to New England. He had received due warning that if found after thirty days within a hundred miles of the school-house in which he was teaching, he would suffer the same fate that had befallen several other Northern meddlers with what was not their business. "What fate was that?" I inquired. The school-master smiled a sort of sickly smile, and said, "Get your hat and let us take a walk." He conducted me beyond the outskirts of the village, to a piece of swampy ground where stood a clump of trees, one of which was large, knotty, gnarly, and well supplied with lateral limbs. "Do you see that tree?"

"Yes, it is quite visible."

"You wouldn't guess," continued the school-master, "what peculiar fruit that tree sometimes bears. Not long ago, the Vigilance Committee, an organized mob of masked men, hung to those limbs, four men suspected of being abolitionists, and I was brought out to see the dangling corpses next day after the execution."

"Your patrons are playful," said I. "They are fond of a practical joke."

The look of that tree, with its mysterious property of bearing dead-ripe human fruit in a single night, did not suit my fancy. It was altogether too picturesque and tropical. The Torrid Zone of our Politics was evidently not favorable to the health of Ohio boys. We began to think of yellow fever, and made preparations to go home and see our mothers. Moreover, my friend, who had been writing intense love letters to his sweet-heart on

the Western Reserve, capped the epistolary climax by a formal proposal, that was promptly accepted, and therefore he was absurdly eager to hurry from the State of Mississippi to that of Wedlock.

On May 20, 1858, we hailed the steamer *Pacific* at Bayo Sara, and took passage for Cairo.

Our six months' ramblings in the South were in the last nick of time for observing American slavery. The storm-cloud of Civil War, so long gathering, was ready to burst; its sheet lightnings were quivering on the political sky, the mutterings of its dread thunder were heard. Ossawatamie Brown sprung the mine of abolition violence at Harper's Ferry, in October, 1859; Lincoln was elected President the year after; then the Confederate States seceded; Sumter was bombarded; the Great Rebellion was precipitated like an avalanche. The children's children of veterans in that struggle, find written in their school-books, the history of Bull Run, the first grand encounter of the opposed forces, which, after filling a Sabbath day with blood and havoc, ended with panic, and the inglorious flight of the Union army. The pages of a thousand books, tell of the Union victory at Pittsburg Landing, won at the cost of more lives than had as yet been destroyed by any battle fought on the continent; of how Farragut's fleet sailed up the Mississippi, past Rebel batteries, dealing out shot and shell, sailed up over booms and amid obstructing rafts and fire-ships, to storm and capture New Orleans; of Antietam, where five hundred cannons "volleyed and thundered" in sublime chorus; of the Wilderness, in which blue and gray met hand to hand, stabbing and cutting, until the ground was soaked with the carnage, and the gloomy woods shuddered to hear the groans of dying thousands; of the long siege and final taking of Vicksburg, the crowning achievement of the Union men in the West; of the famous battle above the clouds on Lookout Mountain; and the gallant storming of Missionary Ridge; of Gettysburg, the cul-

minating battle of the war, a tremendous three-days' conflict between the best and largest Northern army and the largest and best army of the South, ending in the defeat of Lee, and the doom of the Confederate cause; of Sherman's march to the sea, from Chattanooga to Savannah, an invasion lasting from May to December, and that spread terror along its broad swath reaped by the sickles of fire, ruin, and death.

It was in the second year of that terrific war that Abraham Lincoln "made a solemn vow to God that if General Lee should be driven back from Maryland he would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." Lee *was* driven back; the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, and, by virtue of its mandates, five millions of slaves became free on New Year's day, 1863.

Often while the war was raging, and often since its close, have I recalled the scenes and events of my unpremeditated tour down South in 1857-8. Many of the very places at which we lingered, idle spectators of picturesque nature, or interested listeners to Southern sentiments, lay in the very path destined to be trodden within a few years by the ruthless footsteps of war. Such places were New Orleans, Port Hudson, Vicksburg, and Granada. Vividly projected on the screen of memory, I often saw Richard and Paul, and wondered what part they might have played in the tragedy of rebellion. Even now I can see as plainly as if it were before my eyes, the pack of baying bloodhounds on the track of fugitives; I see Uncle Pete leaning on his spade in the grave just dug for his brother slave, and questioning the justice of God; I see the ghastly tree in the Mississippi swamp, lifting towards Heaven its unknown martyrs to the cause of speechless liberty.

Moves upon my vision, slow-paced and solemn, the procession of black working men, returning to their enforced tasks at the iron works, chanting their mournful—

"Fare ye well, ye white folks all,
And fare ye well, ye Niggers, too."

Behind these I see reluctant files of half-clad laborers, moving at the command of the slave-driver, to labor in the cotton-field or on the sugar plantation. There is the master's mansion, and I hear the sound of laughter within, and the voice of song and the pleasings of the lute.

Another scene: Now to the summoning bell, so like a school-bell, so different; in sad uniform march two columns; the one a line of men and boys; the other a line of women and girls; march from the slave pen to the slave mart, and stand in helpless ranks to be reviewed by whosoever wishes to trade away cold coin for drops of human blood. "Do you want to buy any Niggers?" The beautiful quadron, exposed for sale in the show-window, lifts her face; the lustful trader leers, and mutters, "Too expensive!"

Too expensive! Dear country! Dear flag! Dear liberty! Too expensive! So pronounces civilization; so saith God. Slavery is too expensive for humanity to suffer.

Behold another procession, another moving column, another marching line. Tramp, tramp, tramp. Hush thy lute-playing, oh maiden in the mansion; drop thy spade, old man, digging a grave. God is juster than man. Tramp, tramp, tramp! The day of deliverance at last. The Freedmen are marshaled under the Union banner, and as they march they sing—

"For God hath made this people by the light of battle see
That death is on the Nation if the bond do not go free—
That by the sword of Freedmen shall the land regenerate be;
And we go marching on.

Then watch and pray, dear kindred!—when ye hear the battle-cry
Look for Freedom's Dark Crusaders where the Union banners fly,
And to the Lord give glory! for his kingdom cometh nigh,
As we go marching on.
Glory, glory, halleluiah!"

W. H. VENABLE.

THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF ABORIGINAL STONE IMPLEMENTS.

PROBABLY no other equal area in the Union has furnished so great a number and variety of the so-called "Indian Relics," as has been found within the southern half of Ohio and the adjacent portions of Kentucky and West Virginia.

Although few persons have made any particular study of them, curiosity in regard to them is active among all classes, and the successful collector often finds life made a burden by continual questions concerning the source of the material of which they are made, the method of their manufacture, and the uses to which they were put. To answer these questions fully, would require a large volume; but it is possible to enlighten the mystery considerably without laying such a tax on the reader's patience, and I shall endeavor here to assist both the collector and his questioner.

It may be not amiss to state at the beginning, that I spent two winters in carefully studying the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology in preparing a paper on the "Types and Geographical Distribution of Stone Implements," which will appear in a future volume of their reports; and the present article is based largely upon that paper, though, of course, a very brief abstract of it.

There being no perceptible difference in material, form, or finish, between specimens from mounds and those of the same class found on the surface, the explanation that belongs to the one will apply equally well to the other.

While the articles of bone and wood are comparatively rare among these relics, their scarcity must be attributed to their perishable nature; for when we remember the ease with which they are wrought, it is reasonable to suppose

that a majority of aboriginal implements were made of these materials.

Leaving out of consideration, however, these softer substances, and referring only to stone—suitable for so many purposes for which they would not answer at all—the exceeding abundance of these relics has always been, to me, the greatest mystery about them; fields which have been carefully gleaned year after year by keen-sighted collectors, until it would seem impossible that a single specimen could remain, still reward the diligent searcher with desirable objects after every plowing or freshet; while every old meadow put in cultivation, every forest cleared away, opens up a new source of supply for the archæological cabinet.

What could have been the object in making so many? Does it indicate occupancy for a long period of time; or a disregard of work or time that led the user to make a new weapon or other implement, rather than search for one lost or mislaid; or a superstitious fear of using what belonged to a previous generation? Does it imply a population so numerous that the loss of even the great numbers of specimens we find, was considered a trivial matter; or so sparse that such things as are found, except on village sites, were lost in wandering about through the forests? Does it mean that the users migrated so unexpectedly, or to such a great distance, that it was impossible for them to take such property along with them; or that they faded from existence in the neighborhood where their remains are found? And in either event, what led to such result—famine, pestilence, or the encroachments of implacable enemies?

Another perplexing question is, Who made them? Dr. Abbott and others have found a paleolithic man, and another whom they consider akin to, if not identical with, the Eskimo; we have also the Mound Builder, and the pre-historic Indian; and then there is "Lo." All of whom, separate and independent varieties of the *genus*

homo, according to various authors, lived, and moved, and made their relics for us to worry over.

For my part, I confess ignorance of all these matters; and shall avoid controversy by calling the maker *Primo-genus*, letting others decide as to what particular "first family" he belonged, and what may have been his ultimate fate; and shall fix his habitat, for the purposes of this paper, in the Scioto Valley amid the great earth-works where the evidences of his handicraft are so numerous and so varied.

* * * * *

As to the sources of his materials. When he needed a hard, tough, heavy stone, he went to a convenient gravel pit, or to the shores of the nearest stream, where he had no difficulty in finding a piece of granite, diorite, or similar rock. Wherever glacial deposits occur, stone of this nature is to be found in great abundance. The only search necessary was to find one approaching in shape the article he wished to make, so as to avoid extra work.

Slate for ornaments, pipes, and such uses, he could find in the glacial drift, plentifully toward the north, but gradually diminishing in quantity toward the south; the wear and tear that would only polish a chert pebble would soon grind slate to powder, hence its rare occurrence this far south.

Hematite was found in nodules in the coal fields of the Kanawha Valley and Eastern Ohio; and cannel coal could also be obtained at some points in the same regions.

Some coveted stones required journeys of many days' length beyond his accustomed limits, hence worked pieces are found in small quantities only; as steatite and mica, which he must seek from the Alleghenies and beyond; catlinite, from the "pipe-stone quarries;" copper, from Michigan; and galena, (probably) from Wisconsin or Illinois.

Materials such as these were very suitable for making what are known as pecked or polished instruments; but to

obtain the sharp cutting edge of which there was constant need, Primogenus required what is popularly known as "flint;" this name, as commonly used, is made to embrace a wide range of allied rock, as agate, chalcedony, hornstone, and chert—even obsidian and quartz being sometimes included, though of course not by those at all versed in minerals. The word "flints" has come into quite general use as a descriptive term for all implements made of the varieties named. They are, as a class, called chipped implements, because chipping or flaking is the only satisfactory way in which such material can be worked.

While, in this region, flint (in the sense given above) may be found here and there in the limestone sections, it is not until well up toward the coal measures that it begins to occur in any considerable quantities; beds of it—seldom more than a few acres in extent, however—are to be found at intervals from Mahoning county (Ohio) south and southwest into the country beyond the Ohio, many of them having been quarried in pre-historic times.

In Coshocton county, on the Walhonding, near Warsaw, are some very extensive "diggings;" the flint is greatly diversified in texture and color, some of it having a closer resemblance to the "honey-colored" true flint of France than any other I have ever seen from American localities.

The most extensive deposit, not only in Ohio, but probably in this country, is what is known as "Flint Ridge," lying between Newark and Zanesville. The flint forms the cap-rock of a hill for a distance of ten miles, and for almost its entire length this hill is scarred with the trenches and pits left by the ancient diggers.

The stone, though varying in different parts, is principally of three kinds—buhr-stone, banded jasper, and chalcedony. Among the latter may be found varieties from almost crystal clearness to very dark mottled, much of it being mistaken for moss-agate, even by experts; the typical, translucent, bluish gray or "tendon-color;" and

from snowy-white to deep black, along with all shades of red, blue, green, yellow and brown, and sometimes a fragment almost purple. Some pieces which I have polished exceed in brilliancy, delicacy and combination of coloring, any agates I have ever seen. A person familiar with the stone will recognize it at once, wherever found, as it differs in appearance from that belonging to any other known locality. The immense amount of excavation proves that it was in great demand among the aborigines; and as showing the distance to which it was carried, I have found worked specimens of it in Indiana, Kentucky, at the head of the Kanawha, and on the Allegheny near the New York State line. Many pieces of it have also been found in mounds.

Primogenus had probably learned from experience that he would have some difficulty in making arrows of such pieces as he could gather up along the outcrop of the flint. The blow that will split off a flake from a "green" piece will shatter a "dry" piece into fragments—a fact well known to Ohio hunters of the flint-lock period, who soon discovered that a gun flint picked up on the surface had to be soaked in oil for several weeks "to make it tough." I believe that many if not most caches of "turtle-backs" are simply unfinished pieces, buried to keep them in workable condition until needed.

Examinations made in these "diggings" in 1884, led me to the following conclusions as to the way in which the pre-historic man carried on his work:

He first removed the overlying stratum of earth, which is sometimes nine or ten feet in thickness. This was no slight task, for after going down a foot or two, the clay in some places is so hard that it digs like frozen ground; and we must bear in mind that he probably had only wooden tools—at least I have never found any piece of stone which appears to have been used for digging. On reaching the flint a large fire was made on it, which caused the rock to shatter; water probably being

thrown on to hasten the work. Removing such pieces as could be detached, the process was repeated if necessary, until the limestone below was reached and a hole made large enough to work in.

The burnt portion being all broken off and thrown out of the way, clay was plastered along the upper half of the flint to protect it from the heat, and a fire built in the bottom of the hole against the lower part. The fragments thus loosened being pried out, a shelf-like projection was left above. With large boulders, Primogenus broke off this upper, unburned portion and carried it out to some convenient level spot, where, with smaller hammers, the blocks were broken to a suitable size for working. It is a singular fact that no arrow-points or other specimens were made where these blocks were broken up, but the small pieces were always carried to another spot—sometimes only a few rods away. They were next dressed down with still smaller hammers until of the desired size, and then completed as will be explained further along.

From the appearance of the trenches remaining, it would seem that the work was sometimes carried along continuously for several hundred yards; at other times only a single pit was dug, so that only a few square feet of the stone could have been uncovered.

The vast quantities of chips, broken arrow-points, knives, etc., found at various places in the vicinity of this flint bed, show that most of the material was worked up on the spot; but the great number of flakes and apparently unfinished specimens, found at considerable distances away—sometimes a hundred miles or more—indicate that, after specimens had been reduced in weight as much as was possible by hastily chipping them down to the stage where more careful methods became necessary, a supply was taken away to be brought to the desired form as occasion required.

I may anticipate here that so far as the "work-shops"

at Flint Ridge are concerned, Primogenus, in getting his blocks into shape, always struck off the flakes and spalls with a stone hammer. Hundreds of these hammers, from the large boulder of two hundred pounds to the little round ball of two ounces, all used in some stage of the work, from the quarrying to the last chipping, may be found scattered around. The hammer always leaves an unmistakable mark on the core and flake. In the final stages of the work he probably used some of the methods described below.

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Having shown where he could obtain his material, it is next in order to tell how he could turn it to some use.

It is a fixed belief with many that at least the finer of the relics found in such numbers could have been made only with metal tools, and their abundance is held to prove that Primogenus knew of some metal much harder and of better temper than anything known in these later times; for, it is argued, not even a file, the hardest of our tools, will make any impression on some of them; therefore, they were made with something much harder than our best steel. Some authors assert that Primogenus had a way of hardening copper to the necessary degree, and persons are not wanting who claim to have seen pieces so treated; of course nothing of the sort has ever been discovered.

The truth is that such people argue in direct opposition to the evidence; the great plenty of stone implements is positive proof that Primogenus knew nothing whatever of the economic use of metals. If he could have made one such tool, he could have made more; and having them, he would not waste his time in making articles much less serviceable than the tools themselves—as if a man would use a hammer to break a stone to a convenient size for driving a nail, instead of driving it with the hammer at once.

So it is evident, that in working stone the pre-historic man must have used tools of the same material.

* * * * *

His methods of work can best be understood from statements by eye-witnesses of the modern Indian methods. The statements are from so many sources that no reference to the various authorities will be attempted; and will be condensed into the least space possible.

In making large or heavy articles, as axes, pestles, etc., that did not require careful or delicate work from the beginning, he used a hard, tough pebble, preferring diorite or some form of quartz. With this he would knock off chips and spalls from his inchoate implement until he had removed as much of the useless portion as he could in this way; then with light blows he pecked over the entire surface until he had brought it to the correct outline on every side. With a piece of gritty sandstone he ground away the marks of the hammer, and finally rubbed off all rough places and scratches with a softer, finer-grained stone than the first, and thus gave the specimen a smooth surface with more or less polish. All instruments for cutting or splitting had the edge made sharp and smooth by rubbing, as soon as the form admitted—often before the hammer marks were effaced from other portions; and if a groove was needed, it was made as early as possible.

Ornaments and pipes were sometimes made in a similar way, but often were fashioned entirely by rubbing, especially if made of brittle materials. Those of intricate design were apparently carved by means of a pointed flint, set in a handle and struck with a hammer, as a marble worker uses his chisel, the final polish being given with fine sandstone worked to a suitable shape.

When a hole was required, as in a pipe, tube, or ornament, it was usually made after the article was otherwise completed, unless its form was such as would allow it to be easily broken; in which case it would be drilled earlier.

For drilling-tools, Primogenus used a smooth, straight

stick, a cane-stem, a piece of bone or horn, a flint, or a piece of sandstone. He revolved his drill by simply holding it between his hands and rubbing them back and forth, or he used his bow. There were two ways in which he worked the latter; he either twisted the string two or three times around the drill and moved the bow at right angles to it; or he made a hole in the bow and slipped it down over the drill, to the top of which he fastened the string, and then caused it to revolve by a pumping motion. The bow drill required that the top be steadied in some way. For drilling thin pieces, as the slate gorgets, a flint or sandstone drill was set in a shaft; larger articles, as pipes or tubes, were perforated with the other materials named. In drilling very small pieces, as beads for example, a stem of grass was sometimes rolled along the thigh with the right hand, and the article to be bored held against its point with the left. A slight depression was pecked where the perforation was to be commenced, in order to hold the drill to its place; and a constant supply of sand and water was furnished to act as a cutting medium.

It was not a speedy process as may well be imagined, and it is somewhat monotonous. In fact, I believe Dr. Rau was the only white man who ever had the courage to attempt it, and after working at one hole for two years he left it incomplete.

As showing the infinite patience of a savage, it is stated that some of the lowest tribes of the Amazon River make beautiful tubes of rock crystal, an inch in diameter and sometimes eight inches long, by rubbing down the outside with pieces of stone, and then drilling them from end to end with the flexible shoot of a wild plantain, with sand and water. To finish the larger ones "requires the lifetime of two men;" that is, a man worked all his life at it, and left the unfinished ornament to a young man, who sometimes died of old age before he got it completed.

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Some things required to be hafted; the grooved instruments had a withe for a handle, which was split for a portion of its length, and the halves thus made passed on either side of and around the implement to the starting point, and then firmly lashed. Sometimes a withe was split its entire length, and only one of the pieces used; this was wrapped once or twice and the ends brought together, the whole being securely fastened with thongs. Axes were sometimes made flat or grooved lengthwise on one side, so that a wedge could be driven in to tighten the handle.

Tomahawks or "celts" were inserted in a split stick, and firmly lashed; or the head was set into a hole cut in a stick, and gum or glue poured around it. The very small ones were set into the end of an antler, or piece of bone, and used for scraping or skinning.

Round balls had a piece of skin stretched over most of the surface, to which a stick was fastened. Another way was to take the skin of a buffalo's tail, sew the ball into one end, and run a stick in through the other end to make a stiff handle. A portion of the stone was sometimes left exposed.

The sinew of animals was in great value in these operations, as it can be drawn tightly, and is very strong; in drying, it contracts with great force and binds like wire. But as sinew could not fill all demands on account of its scarcity, green raw-hide was much used.

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The manner of converting flint into "chipped implements" will be next considered.

First, as to the flakes, used without further change, or to be made into the many forms of arrow-points, etc.

The Eskimo use a hammer set in a handle to strike off flakes, or they set a point of deer horn into a handle of ivory, and drive the flakes off by striking it.

Mexican Indians take a T-shaped piece of wood, hold a block of obsidian between the feet, set the cross-bar against

the breast, and the other end against the edge of the block, and push till a flake flies off.

Peru Indians lay a bone wedge on the surface of a piece, and tap it until the stone cracks.

California Indians strike off flakes with a stone hammer, or place an obsidian pebble on a stone anvil, and split it with an agate chisel; they strike about a fourth of an inch from the edge of the block, and obtain a flake of that thickness.

A Cloud River Indian held a piece of obsidian in his hand, placed the straight edge of a piece of split antler at a distance from the edge of the stone equal to the thickness of the arrow he wished; then striking the other end with a stone, he drove off a flake.

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The descriptions of arrow-making will apply to the larger pieces as well; and are given quite full, as there have been many speculations as to the process used in their manufacture.

The Mexicans held a piece of obsidian in the left hand, and pressed it firmly against the point of a small goat's-horn held in the right; by moving it gently in different directions they chipped off small flakes until the arrow was complete. They also cut a notch in the end of a piece of bone into which the edge of the flake was inserted, and a chip broken off by a sidewise blow.

The Eskimo sometimes set the flake in a piece of split wood; the arrow is roughly chipped by blows with a hammer, either direct or with a punch interposed; it is then finished by pressing off fine chips with a point of antler set in an ivory handle. Again, they make a spoon-shaped cavity in a log, lay the flake over it, and press along the margin first on one side, then on the other, with the same tool, until two sharp serrated edges are formed.

On the great plains, some Indians lay the flat side of a flake on a blanket or other yielding substance, and nick off the edges with a knife. Formerly, they used buck-

skin and a point of bone or antler. Others hold a flake or flint in the left hand, and place a punch at the point where the chip is to be struck off; an assistant then strikes the punch, and a chip is knocked off from the under side. The flake is then turned and the process repeated, until the arrow is complete. The stone is held in the hand, as they claim it cannot be worked on a hard surface.

Among the California Indians, various methods were employed. Some used a pair of buck-horn pincers tied together with a thong at the end. They first hammered out the arrow head in the rough, and then with these pincers carefully nipped off one tiny fragment after another. Others cover the hand with a piece of buck-skin to keep it from being cut, and lay a flake along the ball of the thumb, holding it firmly with the fingers. Then with a point of antler from four to six inches long, they press against the edge, thus removing scales from the opposite side, turning the flake around and over frequently to preserve symmetry. Another way is for the worker to lay a stone anvil on his knee, hold the edge of the flake against it, and chip off flakes with his stone hammer; finishing the base first, and gently chipping the whole arrow into shape. One has been seen to make a very sharp arrow-point with only a piece of round bone, one end of which was semi-spherical, with a very shallow crease in it. The arrow was made by pressing off flakes by main strength, the crease being to prevent slipping and affording no leverage.

Captain John Smith says of the Virginia Indian, "His arrow-head, he maketh quickly with a little bone, which he weareth ever at his girdle, of any splint of stone or glass."

Cloud River Indians have two deer prongs, the points ground into the form of a square, sharp-pointed file. The flake is held firmly in the left hand, guarded by a piece of buck-skin. With one prong they then press off chips, turning the arrow end for end, when done one side, so as

to keep the edge opposite the middle line. The notches for barbs are worked out with the other prong, which is much smaller. Another implement has a notch like a glaziers' diamond; the flake is held in the left hand, while the notch is used to chip off small fragments; the notches vary in size according to the sort of work to be done.

Klamath River Indians use a slender stick with a piece of sea-lion tooth, or antler, fastened to the end. They hold a flake in the left hand, wrapped in buck-skin, so as to leave only the edge exposed; by pressure with the point of the tool, they press off flakes as large as necessary, the last being very small, to make sharp edges to the arrow. The notches are worked out by a point of bone, four or five inches long, without a shaft.

It would seem that the above would about exhaust the methods in which such things could be made. It is to be remarked, however, that the large hoes, spades, and disks found in great numbers farther West, are always made from nodules, by chipping away the outside portions with a hammer, and not by pressure; and as stated previously, the cores and flakes from Flint Ridge show a similar kind of work—at least well up to the final finishing.

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Now we will see what Primogenus did with the various articles he took so much trouble to procure.

It is difficult to convince people that an Indian, or anybody else, could have cut with, or in fact made any practical use of the rude tools that can be made of stone by such primitive processes. This feeling is quite natural to any one who observes the handiwork of an ordinary white man with all the appliances of a carpenter's and blacksmith's shop at his command; the person who can make anything but a botch, even with the best of tools, is quite rare.

However, Primogenus could do with stone many things that would appear marvelous to the inheritors of his

domain; though we do not find that he had many stone agricultural implements, for all that he made his living chiefly in that way. He had not, as had his more fortunate brother in Southern Illinois and Missouri, immense quantities of flint suitable for making hoes and spades, so, for such utensils, he must depend upon wood, large mussel shells, and the shoulder blades of his large game.

When he wanted a log for his house or stockade, or to make a canoe, he selected a suitable tree and built a fire on the ground against the trunk, taking care to prevent the blaze from going higher than he wanted it. At intervals, he cut or scraped away with his ax or hatchet the charcoal that had formed, thus presenting a fresh surface to the flames. In a little time he could bring down the largest tree. Marking off the desired length, as it lay on the ground, he burned it in two, and had his log. This was converted into a dug-out, by building a fire on top from end to end, plastering wet clay along the line beyond which it must not extend. Scraping with a thick shell or with his celt mounted into a handle adze fashion, he finished the interior to his liking. Usually, the outside required little or no dressing off; when it did, the same method was used. So he made bowls, mortars, and other vessels of wood. He did not use a gouge, that is, a celt with one face hollowed out to give it a curved edge—such as is common in some localities farther North and East; but instead of the ordinary celt, often employed one very long and slender, that he could use as we do a chisel.

He dressed deer and other skins with a small celt, one side being often flat or beveled, to secure better results.

His larger celts made good wedges when he wanted to split out boards; they were also good to strip off bark when he wanted to deaden trees for a clearing.

Very small celts, nearly always of hematite or flint, were set in the end of a bone or antler and used as knives and skinners.

His wife pounded her corn, acorns or chestnuts in either

a stone or wooden mortar; with the latter she probably used a wooden pestle also, as her liege made very few stone ones of the long cylindrical form found in other sections—more frequently toward the South. The stone mortars may have been flat or hollowed, as she used pestles with either flat or convex bottoms. Some pestles are very nicely made and well polished; these usually have a slender top affording a firm grasp, and a widely expanding bottom; sometimes there is a pit just at the center of the bottom, which would be useful in cracking nuts. But if she had nothing better at hand, she took the first suitable stone she could pick up. For many purposes, as breaking bones, pounding meat, or cracking nuts, an ellipsoid pebble of sandstone with a rough place pecked in each side to give a good grip, was used.

There is one kind of relic which Primogenus has left for us to puzzle over without learning anything about, and that is the cupped stone. Various theories have been put forth and much wisdom gone to waste concerning them, and we are still in ignorance as to their purpose. They may have one cup or thirty; may have mortar cavities with them or not; may weigh six ounces or fifty pounds; and when a plausible explanation has been given of one specimen, a dozen others may be picked up close around, every one of which controverts the theorizer. In one field of not more than thirty acres on a hill near Jasper—on which hill are two stone mounds covered with earth—I have seen more than a hundred, and have found a large one on the very top of the highest hill in the region, where no other relics of any sort could be found. They are found not only all over the United States but in all parts of the world; and with all that has been written about them, no one has ever yet succeeded in telling what they are for. I can add only two things—that they are almost invariably of sand-stone, generally of coarse grain; and while rough, irregular blocks never have cups except

on one side or face, thin slabs without exception have them on both.

The round balls so abundant everywhere, Primogenus used as pestles, poggamoggans, hammers to peck out other implements, and sinkers in fishing. For the latter purpose he enclosed the ball in a little net of bark or leather, though he sometimes pecked a groove around it to secure a cord. But most of his sinkers were made of a flat water-worn pebble with two notches rudely chipped on opposite sides.

The larger discoidal stones and spuds in common use among his Southern congeners seems not to have entered into the amusements or occupation of the primitive dweller in this region, as none are found here.

For smoking his mixture of tobacco and willow leaves, besides his pipe he used tubes, some of which were cylindrical, others conical or like a cigar-holder in shape. The latter could be used without a stem, as the perforation was quite small at the smaller end; the former had a mouth-piece of cane or a small bone attached to one end of the tube by some gummy substance. They were also useful on a bright day to view distant objects, as they shut off the dazzling light to a great extent. The medicine man used them in bleeding or blistering; puncturing the patient with a lancet, he set one end of the tube over the cut and sucked vigorously; then with many grunts, contortions and dismal noises he spat out the blood with a caterpillar or some other object he had held in his mouth and the patient straightway experienced great relief. "Christian Science" is no new humbug. If the disturbing element refused to be sucked out, this physician of the old school dropped some fire down in the tube and exorcised it in that way.

The many and varied forms of gorgets, banner-stones, and such things, made of slate, hematite, quartz, and other materials, need not be spoken of here; they were for ornaments, for use in religious ceremonies, and no

doubt many of them had some meaning as well understood among the tribes as the emblems of a secret society are among our own people.

* * * * * * *

After all that has been said by so many writers about the smaller chipped flint implements, it would almost seem there is nothing more to say; but fortunately (for the paper mills) one is not confined to original statements.

When brought to the requisite thinness and outline, nine-tenths of the flints (using this as a generic term for every class of such implements as are now under consideration) of the primitive workers were of two general forms — the triangular, and the pointed oval or leaf-shaped; though one with straight edges may have a curved base, and *vice versa*. By different ways of notching to form the barbs, all the ordinary forms may be produced from these two, as may readily be seen by any one who will restore an arrow-head to its original form by filling out the notches with wax.

Precisely the same shapes may be found in all sizes of flints, from the arrow-point of not more than half an inch to the knife of eight inches or even more in length.

When going on the war-path, instead of the ordinary polished celt in its handle of wood, Primogenus, if possessed of an esthetic turn of mind, sometimes set a long, sharp-pointed, triangular or ovate flint, of considerable thickness, into the leg-bone of a deer. This was fully as effective as the more clumsy weapon, and produced results more in consonance with his refined feelings, as it made a neater, smaller hole in his adversary's cranium and gave him a less unpleasant aspect. With a similar but much thinner stone set in a handle of wood and used as a knife, the scalp was raised.

When afraid to meet his foe in open conflict, he became a bushwacker and shot him from some hiding place. He had two favorite forms of arrow-points for

this work, both small and sharp; the first, of triangular pattern, slightly attached, so that it would remain in the wound when the shaft was pulled out, and consequently work deeper in; the other, with long, sharp barbs and securely held so that it would pull out with the shaft, lacerating the flesh as it came.

For a shaft he used a cane such as pipe stems are made from, when he could get one; if these were lacking he took a straight twig trimmed of knots and inequalities, and rubbed it perfectly smooth with sandstone; he split or notched the end of this, inserted the stem or base of the flint and bound it with sinew or stuck it with gum.

For hunting, he wanted an arrow of different pattern; this was made with long barbs and tangs (the lateral expansion at the end of the stem) so that it could be firmly attached to the shaft and at the same time be very difficult to pull from the wound. In this way all the arrows could be recovered when the animal was finally secured, and in the case of smaller game the projecting shaft striking against weeds and bushes would, to some extent, impede its flight.

It is probable that a great many of the so-called drills were hunting arrows, as the sharp, slender blade would allow them to penetrate deeply, while the relatively very wide barbs or tangs would make it almost impossible to pull them out.

As he would not want his hunting spear to leave his hands, the head would be made without barbs so that it could be easily withdrawn; his spear for war, however, might be barbed and tanged for the greater pain it would cause.

The same knife that scalped his foe, would serve to cut up his game; but the implement best suited for removing the skin would be the one commonly called "beveled" or "rotary" arrow-head. These have the entire blade of the same thickness, with a chisel-like edge. Nothing better adapted to this purpose can be made of stone. A pecu-

liar feature in these is that the bevel is almost invariably towards the right; in hundreds of specimens I have found only one the other way. This would indicate a right-handed people.

In case he wanted feathers and fine furs for gorgeous raiment, and wished to avoid soiling them, he made "bunts" or blunt arrow-points, square or rounded, instead of pointed, at the tip; these would cripple or kill small game without puncturing the skin. He made them direct from a flake, or by chipping down a broken arrow of the ordinary form. In the same way he made small scrapers for cleaning these skins, the difference being that the bunts were so chipped as to bring the front edge in the median line of the flint, while the scrapers were worked in such a way as to bring the edge in the line of one face. When made from a flake the entire chipping was done from the concave side—the fracture of flint being always conchoidal. These scrapers were also used for smoothing wood—as we use broken glass—and were very good for removing the scales from fish.

Speaking of fish, *Primogenus* used flint in different ways in catching them. One way was to chip out a slender piece, sharp at both ends. To the middle of this he tied his line and took a half hitch around one point; this brought the "hook" or bait-holder parallel to the line; over it the bait was placed. When swallowed by a fish, a slight jerk released the loop, and the flint taking a position at right angles to the line, held the fish firmly. Again, he used a spear, the head of which was very slender, and often barbed on one side only, the other side being straight. Or instead of having a spear-head, he set a row of narrow, thin flakes, inclining backwards, along each side of a slender rod, which he used as a harpoon or spear.

Other uses of these small flakes were, to make arrow-tips, lancets for bleeding or scarifying, saws (by setting a number of them side by side) for cutting bone and shell,

and for shaving, though this was not common, the prevailing fashion being to use a small mussel-shell as a nipper and jerk the hairs out by the root; a process which caused Primogenus to rejoice greatly that it never had to be undergone the second time.

I have already mentioned the use of flint drills; but I am convinced the name is wrongly applied in most instances, the material being too brittle for perforating any but thin or soft substances. Many were no doubt used for making holes in skin or leather; though a bone needle was much better suited for this, besides being more easily made; and many which have never been classed as drills in any work on the subject, show unmistakable marks of such use; but all such are thick pieces with diamond or triangular section.

In every variety of articles made of stone, may be found specimens which have been broken and reworked; and many features may be observed which cannot be explained with our present knowledge. For example, all finely worked leaf-shaped implements having notches cut in at an angle of about 45° with the longer axis, and nearly all with a straight base and tangs projecting beyond the barbs, have the base blunted and polished as if from long-continued use as scrapers or cutting implements. It is on the unused part of the flint; and cannot be due to rubbing in a handle by becoming loose, for this would polish the sides also. Such perplexing little matters are very numerous.

Should the reader, because "it looks easy enough," undertake to make a few relics on his own account, he will find it more difficult than he thinks; and yet this part will be much easier than palming off his modern pieces upon the veteran collector.

GERARD FOWKE, Columbus, Ohio.

NOTE:—In the collection of the Society may be seen a series representing every stage of flint implements from the rough block to the finished specimen; along with the hammers, cores and flakes belonging to the work.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF MOUND OPENING.

Done During the Months of July and August, 1888, by Warren K. Moorehead and Clinton Cowen.

It occurred to me a number of times last year to spend the summer in opening mounds. I had done considerable of this work in several counties of our State, but had never spent more than one continuous week in the field. When the Cincinnati Centennial Exposition opened in July, and I was free from my duties (having been actively engaged in mounting a collection for exhibition), I engaged the services of Mr. C. Cowen, of Dennison University, as Superintendent, and set out for the interior of Clermont county. I engaged three Irishmen and on July 9th, five of us began the demolition of a mound on Richard Shumard's farm, Stone Lick township. The mound is situated on a high point of land overlooking the deep and narrow gorge of Rock Run.

The mound was twenty-five feet in diameter and about three feet high. It had never been disturbed by plow or spade. We commenced at the east side and dug the whole of it out. The work occupied four hours.

About one foot from the surface a layer of charcoal was found which extended over the entire mound. This layer was quite uniform and about three inches thick. Immediately below this in the center was a large flat stone, and slightly below the large stone, other stones—limestones brought from the creek below. Under the stones was a medium sized skeleton, much decayed. On the breast bone of this skeleton was a small rough celt of greenstone. A short bone awl was near the body on the right side. Just below the skeleton was a small quantity of red ochre. There was nothing else in the mound.

MOUND NUMBER TWO.

Before Number Two was opened some stone graves

along Stone Lick creek were dug open. Although the work was thoroughly carried out nothing save single skeletons were found.

This mound was situated on Harvey Anderson's farm, Jackson township, Clermont county. It is on high ground, but not near any stream. The mound had been plowed over many times and stands only eight feet high. Old residents say it once was nearly twenty feet in altitude.

We began work on this mound Thursday A. M., July 12th. We were two days in completing the excavations. The dimensions of the structure are 75 x 95 x 8 ft.

We began a wide trench at the eastern side and continued this to the center. We widened the trench at the center until all the mound was "rimmed out" save the outer edges. Nothing was overlooked. Up to Thursday noon we found nothing. There were no layers in the edge of the mound, everything seemed placed within ten feet of the center. About two o'clock we came upon large quantities of burnt clay. This was not placed in a layer, nor had it the shape of an altar. It was a rough, ill-shaped mass. Through it was charcoal freely intermingled. Beyond this mass of clay was a decayed skull. All parts of the skull were present, but none of the other bones of the body. The skull showed action of fire—the teeth were burnt black. That night we quit work five feet from the center on the east side. Our trench was about twenty-five feet wide and seven feet deep.

The next morning we found three feet from the surface, in the center, a skeleton well preserved. No objects were interred with the body. A rough layer of bark had been placed above this individual, and an experienced woodsman present claimed the bark was elm and hickory. The weight of the earth above had pressed this bark into a thin layer scarcely a quarter of an inch thick. The width of it was two feet, the length seven. Just below this skeleton were three layers of earth. The first white,

the second sand, the third red burnt clay. The thickness of each was six inches. Below this last layer was a decayed skeleton and a mass of black and yellow soil slightly burnt. This skeleton laid with head to the west as did the other. The extremities of this one were badly charred.

At a distance of five feet from the upper surface were found three (called for want of a better name) "post holes." These holes were 8 x 14 inches and contained dust that resembled decayed wood. The sides of them were burnt to prevent caving in. In one of these holes three small mussel shells and fifteen snail shells were found. When six feet from the surface a few fragments of pottery, deer bones and snail shells occurred. The deer antlers were broken in small pieces. There were half a dozen of them. A large slab of limestone, very interesting, found at seven feet depth, contained the perfect imprint of seven human ribs. In some parts of the disintegrated stone the fragments of ribs still adhered. This was preserved, but in three days had crumbled into a mass of lime and sand. Varnish was put in the crevices, but it would not keep. This stone had been subjugated to great heat.

Nothing further was found except a rough small celt. When the work was completed we stepped back to look at the sides. The various colored layers and streaks showed up beautifully. Indeed the red and white were as pure as could be painted. There were seven shades represented, red, yellow, black, brown, pink, white, grey.

Mound number three contained nothing.

Mound number four contained nothing of importance.

MOUND NUMBER FIVE.

This mound was situated on the farm of John Boyle, Perry Township, Brown County, Ohio. The owner is a wealthy and cultivated gentleman and gave us permission to open another mound of his four miles further north.

We began work on the west side. We were nearly three days completing excavations. The mound was circular and about one hundred feet in diameter. It was five feet high, had never been opened, was situated in a woods. It was surrounded by a low circle 200 feet in diameter. The altitude of the circle was less than three feet, its breadth seven feet.

No skeleton was found in this mound. Near the exact center on the bottom we discovered a small arrow-head of pink flint, a hammer stone of sandstone, a rubbing stone of slate.

When some ten feet beyond the center on the east side we suddenly came upon forty-two mica sheets. These were from four by eight to seven by nine inches in size. Some of them had been neatly rounded, others were in the rough state. They were laid in layers with edges overlapping, covering three square feet or more. Nothing was under or above them.

There was nothing else in the mound. I consider this the most positive proof of "Ceremonial structures." The enclosed mound, the mica and other objects, the absence of skeletons, lead me to believe that this mound was erected for some religious purpose, that it was not a burial mound, nor a house site. The mound may have been a "temple site," for the summit was slightly flattened. This is to me the most mysterious structure I ever excavated. We examined the earth very carefully to find traces of charcoal or pottery or bones but found none. There were no "post holes" in this structure.

MOUND NUMBER SIX.

This mound is on the farm of John Boyle, St. Martin's, Brown county. It is on very high ground and overlooks the East Fork of the Little Miami river. It is, by far, the largest one yet opened. We began July 24th, with four hands. The size of this mound is: in altitude, eight feet, in length seventy feet, in width sixty-five feet.

We are told that it once stood nearly twenty-five feet high. There was a circle around it once, but this has been plowed down until nothing remains. It is barely discernable in places. We began operations on the south side by starting a trench nearly as wide as the mound. This was continued to within ten feet of the northern limit, when, finding no evidences of burial beyond that point, we filled up the holes.

The skulls taken from this mound were much decayed, but, being treated with a solution of varnish and glue and being carefully packed in cotton, were strong enough to be transported to Cincinnati. Both these individuals fell in battle. The back of the skulls are crushed in. None of the other bones of the skeletons showed fractures. Over the forehead of one of the skulls was a copper plate, five by seven inches, and perforated in two places. This plate was placed directly over the eyes and forehead, the holes corresponding with the eyes, and, I think, a "death mask" would be a proper name for the plate. The material is Lake Superior copper, thin, and shows that it was beaten out in a cold state. This skeleton was the first one found (with the plate). Just beyond it lay a layer of fine burned earth three inches thick. The earth was seven by three feet and as hard as brick. On the layer, extended east and west, lay a well preserved skeleton. Save that this skull was crushed in the rear, all the bones were whole and in place.

But to return. When we had been at work nearly a day, and were ten feet from the outer edge, we came upon five "post holes" similar to those found in the Anderson mound, only larger. These were filled with small stones, and were three feet deep. Were they used to drain the mound? They were placed on the bottom (the original surface of the ground,) and ran down to undisturbed clay. Just beyond these a large mass of burnt stones, cremated skeletons, etc., occurred. A lump of partially worked Galena was taken from this mass. At the top of the

mound, only two feet from the surface, had been placed a layer of bark, but this was too badly decayed to tell the wood. In some places it had so rotted as to leave a black streak only.

We were four and one-half days in opening this mound.

Mound No. 7, nothing of value.

MOUND NUMBER EIGHT.

This mound is one of a group of seven. They lie on the edge of a high hill overlooking the East Fork of the Little Miami river, Clermont county, Ohio. Mr. J. G. Hutchison owns the land. The mounds are small, averaging thirty feet in diameter and three feet in height. The average distance apart is one hundred feet. Saturday, August 4th, we began work on these. We were three days in digging the seven to pieces. Three of the smallest ones were opened the first day.

Each mound was composed of both earth and stone, but the first one opened contained more stone than any of the others.

On the east side of the first mound (we commenced on the center mound and worked to the left, then to the right) we uncovered a layer of five flat stones. Under these were two skeletons, much decayed. With one of the skeletons a very choice polished celt was found. With the other five, rough chert implements.

There was no colored earth in this mound; no charcoal. The next one opened was very small and yielded nothing but flat stones. The next on the left contained a decayed skeleton and traces of charcoal, that was all. The skeleton had stones thrown upon it, but none were laid in order as in the first mound. The last mound on the left contained two skeletons pretty well preserved, and, compared with the others, decently buried. Not far below the surface was a layer of limestones. Below this, and resting on several large stones, were the two bodies. Nothing was found with them, but it was interesting to

note what care had been displayed in the manner of burial. The heads lay to the East, the arms lay close to the sides, the legs were straight. It was very evident the rest of these individuals had never been disturbed until our spades uncovered their bones.

The next mound on the right held nothing but stones. The second on the right contained a badly mashed skeleton. There were few bones entire. The last mound on the right held a couple of bodies well buried, and a large dish. The pottery had been interred whole, but, lying so near the surface, it had absorbed the rains and the frosts had cracked it into many small fragments. We took it out in fifty pieces and attempted to restore it.

From this county we went to Ross county, where our finds were greater than any previously made. I will give an account of the work done there in some future number.

W. K. MOOREHEAD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1889.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY

In the Ohio Centennial, at Columbus, September 4 to October 19, 1888.

THIS department was organized to embody a distinctive feature in the Ohio Centennial: i. e., to exhibit in one place articles illustrative of the growth made in Ohio's history.

To do this properly, it was decided to group all articles into classes, regardless of ownership, each class typical of a distinct idea. This made a collective exhibit and hence all individuality of ownership disappeared. This plan was decided upon after a careful examination of former expositions, and upon the advice of those who had given the subject much attention.

The space allotted was the north side and east end of the gallery in the central brick building. This gallery is twenty feet wide, and on the north is 120 feet long. On the east the length is eighty feet. This gave a floor space of 20 x 200 feet. On this space were placed the table, upright and other forms of cases in which to exhibit articles. The wall on the north presented an abrupt convex surface about twenty feet high. That of the east was straight, with inclined sides, owing to the shape of the roof. It was sufficiently high to exhibit large maps, charts and card cases in which were placed stone ornaments and implements, whose owners adopt that method of keeping them. The convex surface of the north wall was used to hang paintings of the Governors of Ohio, from Arthur St. Clair to Joseph B. Foraker: from 1788 to 1888. A few pictures were hung on the lower portion of this wall.

The space allotted to this department was divided into two general parts: History and Archæology, the former occupying the north side, the latter the east end. These two general divisions were arranged in groups, each group in turn being classified. The division of History was sep-

arranged into eight groups, the Archæology into ten, each of which will be hereafter described. The grouping and classification of articles enabled me to exhibit a large number of articles; many more than could have been done by any method involving individual exhibits, and it also enabled me to present in compact form all articles illustrative of the various phases of our history. No other method would have permitted such an exhibit. Its wisdom was fully attested by the hearty approval of all visitors and contributors, when examined. By this method the visitors saw in *one* place all that could be seen of articles typical of one idea, and, hence, did not have to travel over the floor to gain an idea of use, utility, age, or history of the articles shown. The comparison was there. As a result, the department became a school of object-teaching which was visited again and again by those who wished to study what *objectively* illustrated our history.

The section of History was divided into eight groups, as follows: 1, military; 2, domestic in-door implements and utensils; 3, domestic out-door implements; 4, printed and written articles; 5, mechanics' tools; 6, money and medals; 7, flax; 8, pictures and paintings.

In the first group—military—were shown the classes of guns, pistols and all firearms, swords, bayonets, dirks, uniforms, canteens, powder-horns, drums, fifes, flutes, band instruments, flags, etc., each class containing within itself every article which belonged therein arranged so as to show chronology, use and utility. In this department were special exhibits of the General Fearing and General Sheridan articles. Here were also a number of sections of trees from battle fields showing the effect of warfare in the balls and shells still imbedded in the hard woods.

In the second group were shown implements of household use. In one case were lamps, candle-sticks and lanterns so arranged as to show the methods of lighting dwellings from the earliest periods of our history to the present.

Next this, came an exhibit of pewter ware of all kinds, arranged to show, chronologically, its use. Near this stood a case of china and earthen ware, arranged on the same plan. Close by were all forms of smoothing irons. In this group were placed musical instruments, the most valuable historically of which was a piano that had been in use in Washington's family.

At the request of the Woman's Department I fitted up a "New England Kitchen" in the Woman's Building. In this were placed all articles illustrating such a department in our forefathers' homes.

In the third group—domestic out-door implements—were shown plows of wood and of iron, wooden pitchforks and shovels, rakes, flails, and other tools used by the farmer and husbandman when his necessities and condition compelled him to depend on "home talent" and industry for all he needed.

In the fourth group were shown all forms of printed and written matter. This embodied in one case deeds, letters, public and private documents, newspapers, receipts, etc., arranged first, in classes, second, chronologically. The second case contained books and bound papers and magazines. These were arranged in classes, such as educational, religious, etc., each class in turn arranged chronologically in order.

The group of mechanics' tools—the fifth—embraced every variety of auger, hand-bit, gimlet, axes of all kinds, adzes, drawing-knives, chisels, gouges, etc., while grouped among them were the results of work done with such tools, shown by wooden bowls, latches, locks and other articles necessary to the comfort of a family.

The sixth group—money and medals—contained specimens of almost every State and private bank in the West; also one specimen of each of the chief coins in use during the century. Six double cases were required to hold the currency and one upright triangular case, two sides of which were used, held the coins. In all, there were up-

wards of two thousand specimens of currency, comprising not only Ohio and Western Bank currency but also many specimens of foreign banks and corporations, and specimens of Colonial, Continental and United States issues. The coins comprised specimens of all used in this country from the periods of early settlements in America to the present time: gold, silver and copper, in all about one thousand pieces. The entire collection was the exhibit of A. H. Smith, of Burg Hill, Trumbull county. A few smaller collections were also shown near. The medals were chiefly in a case shown by Dr. Eli D. Pocock, of Shreve, Wayne county, and exhibited many of the medals, or their duplicates, issued to individuals in the West.

The exhibit of flax—group seven—comprised in one series the entire method of converting the raw product into cloth. This, of course, included all machinery and appliances used. The exhibit was gathered and arranged by John Hayden, Esq., of Marengo, Morrow county.

The last group in this division—the eighth—that of pictures and paintings—was somewhat scattered owing to the nature of the wall space. In addition to the portraits of Governors, already mentioned, there was shown a variety of pictures, paintings, charts, commissions, wall cases of badges, diplomas, etc., illustrating various phases of our history. In this exhibit were shown two cases containing a complete inventory of all circulars, letter-heads, envelopes, designs, cards, badges, etc., used at the Centennial Celebration held in Marietta, July 15th, commemorative of the Proclamation of Civil Government by General Arthur St. Clair, July 15, 1788.

The arrangements of the second division—Archæology—was mainly the work of Prof. M. C. Read, of Hudson. Ten general groups were made, each in turn classified. The groups were: 1, casts and models of earthworks; 2, larger stone implements; 3, bone and shell ornaments and implements; 4, human remains and skeletons from mounds; 5, slate implements and ornaments; 6, pottery,

domestic utensils, dress, etc.; 7, flint implements; 8, pipes; 9, specimens in wall cases; 10, miscellaneous articles.

Without going into lengthy details little can be said of each of the above groups.

The first group comprised casts and models, in clay, of the typical mounds and classes of earthworks on one table, while adjoining it was a model, drawn to scale, of the earthworks found on the site of Marietta when settled by Americans, in 1788.

The second group contained varieties of pestles, mortars, axes, hammers, mauls, fleshers and other large stone implements, each comprising a class, each class, in turn, being arranged according to evident use.

The third group comprised all articles of shell and bone, including beads, bodkins, fish-hooks and spears, discs, etc.

The fourth group comprised, in once case, types of crania and skeletons found in mounds and in Indian burial places. These included several perfect skulls and fragments of others, as well as entire skeletons and parts of skeletons.

The fifth group comprised the various forms of slate implements and ornaments, such as slate beads, wands, badges, fleshers, bark peelers, and tribal, clan and family totems, each class being arranged in order of use.

The sixth group included a typical variety of pottery of mounds, of Indians and modern Mexican tribes. Many fragments were also exhibited showing the various styles of ornamentation prevalent, especially in this part of the country.

The seventh group included a variety of domestic utensils used among the aborigines, also ornaments of copper, bone, iron, silver, brass, reeds, etc. Among these were also shown many articles now in common use among Western tribes, as deer and other skins dressed and ornamented for garments; platters of woven grass and other utensils.

The eighth group included what might, with propriety, be termed the "evolution of the pipe." Here were shown all forms of smoking utensils, from the earliest straight stem, without a bowl, to the elaborate carved handle and bowl of the modern Indian. Also many forms of ceremonial and clan or tribal pipes, as well as those of an emblematical character were exhibited in the case containing this group.

The ninth group comprised all varieties of stone implements and ornaments, exhibited in frames, the articles being fastened by small wires to the back of the frames. Dr. Pocock, of Wayne county, John S. B. Matson, of Richland county, H. B. Case, Ashland county, M. E. Thrallkill, Franklin county, and the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society being the chief contributors to this group. A large archæological map, belonging to the Society, showing the principal earthworks, mounds, etc., in Ohio, was hung here. Near it was a small map of Delaware county, on the same principle, proposed by R. E. Hills, Esq., of Delaware. A number of drawings of archæological articles were also shown.

The tenth group included what was brought in after the classification was completed and the cases filled, hence into this group were placed all unclassified articles.

But little additional need be said concerning this general grouping and classification. Every group and class was properly described by labels, while to each article that admitted it was attached a special label giving all known information, as briefly as possible, regarding it. This was not generally necessary in the Archæological division as the label for a class answered sufficiently for all articles in the class. In the Historical division almost every article had a special and separate history and, hence, bore a special label. This was a great convenience to visitors, and one much commended. It obviated all necessity for guides, and, besides, left each one at full discretion as regards time of examination of the articles.

Captain H. C. Roby, of Fairfield, had charge of the section of Military articles, while Dr. L. G. Herrick remained in charge of that of the Archæology. A full report containing a complete classified list of articles exhibited, and the owners' names and addresses, was prepared by Dr. Herrick, for the Centennial Board of Directors. It is to be hoped they will publish this, that each and all may receive due credit.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Commissioner.

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF F. C. SESSIONS, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Read in the Senate Chamber, at the Fourth Annual Meeting, Thursday Evening, January 31, 1889.

ALMOST one year ago, this Society went to Marietta, O., to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement, by Americans, of the Northwest Territory, of which Ohio is an integral part, and of which she is the oldest State, and one of the most powerful of American commonwealths. The settlement was hence the first by Americans in Ohio. The year has been one prolific in events. We have enjoyed the somewhat anomalous distinction of holding four centennials commemorative of a great, distinct epoch in our history. Still these celebrations, though unlike in ideas and in detail, have been to commemorate a distinctive feature growing out of that settlement, and the principle under which it was planted that April morning in 1778.

These celebrations have borne good fruit. They have been beneficial in many ways. They have aroused an interest in our early history, and hence a closer study into the causes that led to the founding of this nation, to its struggles for national existence, to its ultimate triumph, and to the planting in what was then the remote regions of the West, of a colony under a system of laws, such as the world had never before seen, and which it never can forget. Nor has this commemorative work been confined to mature intellects. The children in the public schools have begun to ask the same questions, and to search for the same answers. Thus there has been instilled into the minds of thousands of Ohio youths, a wholesome regard, and a desire for the truths of history. It is by a study of the past that we learn how to shape our course in the future. Hence the lesson and its solution by the pulpit,

and in our schools for the last year, will bear fruit after we have gone from the scenes of active and responsible life. The boy and girl of to-day have learned a truth, that in after years will bring results when they stand in society, and in the State where we to-day stand.

It is not boasting to say that this Society has performed an important part in all this action. In truth, if we go to the fountain whence this stream of work started, we shall see that the first impulse given to it, came from us. Those of us present at the first meeting, four years ago, to discuss the organization of such a society as this, will remember the remark made by some one, that three years hence would see the first centennial of historical import in our State, whose celebration it would be wise now to consider. The fundamental idea of the manner of such celebration, and the lessons to be learned and impressed on the youth of the State were then carefully considered, and the policy outlined that afterward was followed. We can now look back to that evening, and in the light of what the year has done, weigh our words. We think we are not mistaken, when we say that the people of Ohio know more of their history, their origin, and their progress as a State and a people than they knew two years ago; and that this Society has been the instrument in starting movements that have brought this about.

It is well also to cast a retrospective glance over the immediate work of the society for the year now about closed. What results has it attained, and what specific work has it done.

All the members can testify what has been done in the way of preserving history in printed form. All have received the *QUARTERLY*, and can judge from the articles therein printed what its work is. The publication of the first number of the year, June, 1888, comprised the entire proceedings, together with the addresses at the celebration of April 7, at Marietta. "There is not a paper in that issue," said one fully competent to judge, "that is not

worth a year's membership." There, in compact, convenient form is a complete record of the proceedings commemorative of not only the founding of our State, but also of the whole northwest part of the Union, whose history and relationship to the Nation is akin to that of New England. Succeeding numbers of the society's periodical have been devoted to papers that were necessarily set aside for the June issue; and though not so voluminous, each contains within itself material invaluable to the student of our history. Of volume I of this publication, practically no numbers remain, and it is only a question of time when volume II will become exhausted. Through this publication many valuable works are attained without cost to the society, a factor that should not be lost when we consider the value the society can be to the State. The last Governor's message contains excellent suggestions concerning the preservation, by printing, of our State records. Already we have commenced this work, and the suggestion comes directly in line with what we have been advocating since our beginning. There are scattered throughout our public archives valuable documents which the remorseless tooth of time is slowly eating away. Some day future generations will not hold us guiltless for this neglect, and acting as far as our means and income will permit, we should preserve such as we can in the pages of our *QUARTERLY*. The State should come to our aid in this matter by authorizing the proper officers to do this work, and by giving the means whereby it can be done. We must use our influence to this end, and we trust each will feel it to be a personal matter and aid in the effort.

The collection of library works has gone steadily forward. Though no effort has been made to accumulate a library for the reason that we have no safe place to keep one, yet many valuable works come gratuitously. Such are cared for by the Secretary as best he can. He should not be charged with the duty of preserving them and

caring for them in his own house; a place should be provided for them and for all that are offered. This leads me to speak of the proposed merging of our library into that of the State, and also of the museum collection. That such a step should be taken, no one who has considered the matter will for a moment deny. That it will result in adding many valuable works to the library, and thus be a saving financially, is also apparent. Two libraries should not be built up in the Capitol. Both the State and the society pursue often the same line of research, and hence accumulate the same material. The accumulation of one in the same line of thought is sufficient, and hence the energies should be so directed that though both pursue the same policy, each should be so divided and managed that each will bring a different result, equally of interest and benefit to the library. It is not only desirable, but preferable, that the united collection be kept in one depository in the State-house and be under one management. Two museums and two libraries should not be created.

The State Library was established early in the history of the State by the General Assembly. Originally, many law books were kept in the library, but as room became scarce by the collections of years, and the courts of the State grew in importance and labor, the law books became a library to themselves, and now, as they should, form an independent library, under the control of the Supreme Court, whose members elect the officers. Hence a uniform and wise policy has followed the selection of books for this library, a policy it is now hoped to establish in the library of miscellaneous books.

The gathering and make-up of a library and museum is essentially the work of a State Historical Society. Such a society, composed of members in all parts of the commonwealth, continually secures works that bear on the political, historical, material, social and economical questions of the day, and hence receives the friendly aid of

hundreds of citizens, who could not, in any other way, be interested. The collection of the society becomes the property of the state, and hence it is always giving more than it receives.

The best example of any State is that of Wisconsin. About ten years ago, the influence of the State Historical Society, of Wisconsin, was secured, and by the help of generous aid on the part of the State, judiciously managed under a system not subject to political or other changes, there is now in Madison, a library and museum, the equal of which cannot be found anywhere. Kansas has shown great advancement under a somewhat similar system. Just what should be done in Ohio, is a point to consider. The influence of this Society, with its extended membership, can be made an important factor, and one of great usefulness. A well-defined policy should be adopted subject to no hasty changes, and those only after mature and careful consideration.

In Wisconsin there is a remarkable collection of pamphlets relating to the late civil war, hardly equalled in the country, and is comprised in many bound volumes, each carefully indexed. We also hear there has been placed in this library a complete collection of pamphlets, books, and newspaper clippings relating to the "tariff question" — a complete tariff library, so to speak. Such collections show wise fore-thought, and preserve the very essence of current literature, embodying the economical, historical, and political questions of the day.

The report of the Kansas Society's work in the library for the year 1887, shows: "periodicals, 1,007; single newspapers and newspaper cuttings, containing special historical material, 269; maps, atlases, etc., 60; manuscripts, 228; pictures, 170; miscellaneous contributions, 51; script, currency, etc., 5. Thus it will be seen that the library additions of books, pamphlets, and newspaper files during the year number 3413 volumes. But

note, of these 3188 have been procured by gift, and but 225 by purchase.”¹

An examination of the report shows less than ten per cent. purchased, and over ninety per cent. donation and exchange. All this in addition to valuable museum donations. In our own State the donation is hardly twenty per cent. Somehow people will give to a *society*. It should also be said here that the Ohio Society is prepared to do what no other Society can do, or has done. It now maintains an excellent periodical, issued quarterly, which it can exchange free of expense for every periodical worthy a place on the library shelves. Thus it not only offers free to the State, an exchange list worth hundreds of dollars annually, all of which is now an outlay of money. Further, through this publication, many valuable and expensive books can be obtained free. It can thus, and will, save annually, through this medium alone, hundreds of dollars' worth of books annually more than is now obtained.

The character and magnitude of the work undertaken, and being carried forward by the Ohio Society is peculiar and almost anomalous. Hence duties imposed upon the Society, and the privileges conferred upon it have not been so well understood by the public, and by members

¹ Since this address was delivered the “Sixth Biennial Report” of the Kansas Historical Society, whose library is the “State Library,” has been issued. This report shows the following remarkable statement: “During the period covered by this report—1887 and 1888—there have been added to the Library, bound volumes, 1,619; unbound volumes and pamphlets, 9,250; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 1,995; single newspapers, 1,734. Maps, atlases and charts, 116; manuscripts, 662; pictures and works of art, 275; scrip currency, coins and medals, 32; war relics, 12; miscellaneous, 229. The Library additions, not including duplicates, number 12,864; of these, 12,001 have been procured by gift, and 863 by purchase. The Kansas State Library is under control of a Board of Trustees, modeled somewhat on the Wisconsin plan, managed in part by the Historical Society. It was founded in 1876, and now contains 48,305 volumes. Its growth is sufficient evidence of the value of the system.

of the Legislature, as they should be. The Wisconsin Historical Society affords the model upon which our work, in its incipiency, is planned, and in the main is what we wish to accomplish. Both Societies are voluntary associations. Their members are private citizens. Their officers are private citizens, elected by the members of the Societies. Their mode of work has been devised, and is being carried forward by plans, rules, and regulations, made by their members and officers. Yet their relation to the State, is such as is essential to the existence of the Societies, and so far as there has been any experience in such work in any State, it is a relation best calculated to secure the accomplishment of such work, a work which it is everywhere conceded every State should have done, and the neglect of which has been greatly deplored where it has been left undone.

Considering the relation of a State to an association of its private citizens, it is not surprising that the duties thus imposed by the State, and the compensation given for performing them, should not for a time be properly adjusted. The Society has not been in the habit of complaining of lack of appreciation; for the appreciation has everywhere been made manifest, and the Society has always been confident that the lack of adequate means for carrying on its work would prove to be but temporary. The membership of the Society now extends to every county in the State, and to many parts of the United States.

It is in the preservation of the materials of the history of the present growth and development of Ohio, in which our friends in the East so much rejoice, that the work of the society is most complete and comprehensive. Before our society had begun its work, the printed materials of history of the earlier days had in large part been dissipated and destroyed. The materials of the present day, as they are daily and weekly being evolved from more than a thousand busy printing presses, can all be saved in the library. In this growth and development, Ohio has

gone forward until it has reached, with all the appliances of the best civilization the world has ever known, the remotest boundaries of our State; and now are to be found printing presses in every county. Within the bounds of the eighty-eight counties forming the State are being published over 800 newspapers. These papers make a record, week by week, of all the events occurring in the growth of these counties, and complete files of the principal ones can be secured and preserved in the library, many the gift of their generous and thoughtful publishers.

It might be asked, and coming from persons who may have given the subject no special attention, they might seem proper questions, What is the necessity of a State Historical Society and a State Historical Library? Why has the Historical Society grown up at all? To these questions it might be answered in brief that the State of Ohio has done very little toward gathering the materials and memorials of a peculiarly interesting and eventful pioneer history; a work which the intelligence of the present age pronounces as worthy of being done by any State, no matter how eventful and commonplace may have been its founding—a work, indeed, which all intelligent citizens deplore the omission as a calamitous loss. And it is a work which all experience shows is never likely to be well performed except through a voluntary organization especially made for the subject, and composed of that class of appreciative citizens, who, whether prompted by pride of their own doings, or by a desire to do something for the benefit of future generations, are willing to supplement whatever the State may do in this behalf with no little gratuitous labor and sacrifice on their part. And, as we have shown, the making of a library is an appropriate and essential work of a historical society.

The lessons of our history, both as a State and part of the old Northwest Territory, can be traced in many operations conspicuous in the life of our Nation. They should

not be lost to posterity, which will not hold us blameless for the neglect. Beginning with the passage of the "Ordinance of 1787" down through the century until now can be traced an eventful national life. Ohio has borne her full share in this work, and we hope to see the record preserved, and that without delay.

Ohio has a noble record, beginning with a veritable magna charter, which the Constitution of the United States did not catch up to for three-quarters of a century. For about fifty years I have been in the State, and Ohio has ranked, during that time, third among the States. Ohio has been so prolific of great men and women that the list is almost embarrassing to one who would avoid everything in the way of bragging. It has sent three of her most distinguished men to the White House—Grant, Hayes and Garfield; has had two Chief Justices—Chase and Waite; three of her generals were selected by Congress for high honors conferred on no other military men since Washington—Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. What citizen of Ohio can think of these men and speak their names without a throb of State pride thrilling through him? The recent National Convention emphasized the Ohio idea more than ever in nominating for President a distinguished citizen, a native of Ohio, who has since been elected; I refer to General Benjamin Harrison. And the other convention nominated one of our most distinguished citizens for Vice President, an honest man of great ability and of national reputation, Judge Thurman.

Ohio has more school teachers than any other State excepting one. She is first in the value of farming lands and in the number of farms of less than one hundred acres each. She is first in the number of sheep and wool production; in the manufacture of farm implements; in the number of brick and tile establishments, and in the value of quarry products. She is second in dairy interests; in iron and steel in the mining of bituminous coal, and in

slaughtering and meat packing. In petroleum and natural gas she is in the front. From her clays are made one-third of the stone and earthen-ware produced in the United States. Mr. Black says: "If we find the causes which have contributed to the increase and prosperity of Ohio cities, we must first turn to the splendid natural resources of the State. The rocky floor of the valley, which the geologists tell us belongs to the paleozoic age, is unbroken by a single evidence of volcanic irritation. Over the beautiful stone level is spread a soil so fertile as to have tempted the farmer upon its earlier discovery, and to have given Ohio, in logical sequence, a foremost position among agricultural States. Of the two great slopes, one shedding to the lake, the other to the Ohio, the northern is better for grazing and the dairy, while grain thrives easier on the southern slope. But upon the surface is only the beginning of Ohio's riches." I remember of asking of the late President I. W. Andrews, of Marietta College, why Ohio was so distinguished a mother of great men. He replied: "The pioneers of Ohio, a hundred years ago, were men and women of brains and pluck, well developed physically, morally and intellectually; and their sons and daughters could not help taking prominent positions in the nation."

The collections made in the Society's museum, embracing both archæology and history, have been very gratifying. All accessions have been by donations. The commissioners in charge of the Ohio Exhibit, at Cincinnati, during the Centennial Exposition held in that city, gave the Society twenty-nine framed charts, made by competent artists, and under the eyes of those skilled in the subject, representing the archæological earth-works conspicuous in our State. They also gave two plaster-casts, one of the famous Serpent Mound in Adams county, and one of Fort Hill, in Highland county. These charts and casts are of great value, and the Society is under obligations to the gentlemen who so kindly gave them.

The Exposition at Columbus afforded another excellent opportunity to increase our collection. The department devoted to history and archæology, was under the care of the Secretary of the Society, who improved the chance thus given to secure many articles. All these, with those already owned by the Society, have, by the courtesy of the State officials, been removed to a room in the Capitol, where properly arranged in their several classes, in glass cases, they may be seen by all who care to study them. In time this collection will be one of the most comprehensive in Ohio. It is not the aim of the Society to simply acquire a large collection. It is rather to secure a representative one, where all articles illustrating our history, from its earliest period may be seen. The collection will thus become an object lesson, whose value increases the more it is seen and studied.

All this work involves continuous, well applied labor. So far it has been done practically free, but this cannot long continue. One man must devote his entire, undivided time to the work, and such an one deserves continued support and encouragement. It is sincerely to be hoped that this meeting will not disperse until that question is settled satisfactorily.

I have called your attention thus in outline to our work, to our prospects, and to our aims, and with the hope that the coming year will see our work still advancing, I leave the matter in your hands.

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1889.

THE Society was called to order by the President, F. C. Sessions, Esq. The Secretary stated that as the fiscal year of the Society did not close until the 19th of February, the annual report could not be presented till that time, and that the only business before the Society was the election of five trustees,—to serve for the term of three years. The President appointed as Committee to nominate persons to fill these places, Mr. A. A. Graham, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, and Rev. W. E. Moore.

The President then read his annual address, (printed elsewhere in this number). At the expiration of the address, Mr. Graham reported that the Committee would recommend the following persons to serve as trustees:

Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Westerville; Daniel J. Ryan, of Portsmouth; D. K. Watson, of Columbus; Charles Townsend, of Athens; M. D. Follett, of Marietta.

On motion of Dr. C. C. White, of Columbus, the rules were suspended, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Society in favor of the gentlemen named, who were declared elected.

The Secretary announced that the Trustees would meet the following morning at 9:30 in the Senate Committee Room, and also the program for the next day, including the excursion to Chillicothe, after which the President introduced Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of Portsmouth, who addressed the Society on "A Familiar Talk about the Governors of Ohio." As the address was illustrated by stereopticon views of the Governors, and the chief places and persons conspicuous in Ohio's history, an abstract can not be given. At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Ryan, and the

Society adjourned to meet in Chillicothe the next day at 5:30 P. M.

CHILLICOTHE, FEBRUARY 1, 1889.

The Society arrived in Chillicothe at 2 P. M. and was taken to the Warner House for dinner. After dinner the members were driven about the city and shown a remarkable collection of archæology, arranged in a vacant store room, and also to see a fine and varied collection of Samoan Island articles at the residence of Judge Safford. At 6:30 the members met in the dining room of the Warner House, where a banquet was served, after which addresses were made by Hon. Charles Townsend, of Athens, Dr. Edwin Sinnett, of Granville, Rev. Wm. E. Moore and A. A. Graham, Esq., of Columbus, Hon. George Ford, of Burton, and by Albert Douglass, Jr., of Chillicothe. The lateness of the hour prevented hearing addresses from Hon. J. Park Alexander and others.

At 8:15 P. M. Henry Howe, Esq., author of "Howe's Historical Collections," in the Masonic Opera House addressed the Society on "Reminiscences of my Historical Pilgrimages, 1840 to 1847." On motion of A. A. Graham, Esq., it was resolved the thanks of the Society be and are tendered Mr. Howe for his excellent and interesting address, and resolved, that he be elected an honorary member of the society. The following motion was offered by Rev. Wm. E. Moore:

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are due and are hereby tendered the citizens of Chillicothe who have so generously and so magnificently entertained us as their guests on this our first visit to their time-honored city.

"Resolved, That we regard with peculiar pleasure the evidences of interest in matters of archæology and history manifested in the remarkable collection so proudly exhibited to us, the proof at once of the taste of the collectors, and the richness of the sources from which they were drawn."

The motion was seconded by Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, and was passed by a unanimous vote.

On motion the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was adjourned.

F. C. SESSIONS,
President.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

After adjourning the Society attended a reception in the parlors of the Warner House, and the next day disbanded.

MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Friday, February 1, 9:30 A. M.

The Trustees met in the Senate Committee Room and elected the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—F. C. Sessions.

Treasurer—S. S. Rickly.

Secretary—A. A. Graham.

The following members were elected to serve on the Executive Committee: F. C. Sessions, Dr. N. S. Townsend, Rev. W. E. Moore, Prof. S. C. Derby, Daniel J. Ryan, S. S. Rickly, Rev. H. A. Thompson.

The Executive Committee was authorized to appoint such committees as might be found necessary, after which the Board adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

F. C. SESSIONS,
President.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR
ENDING FEBRUARY 19, 1889.

To the Members:

THE report of the Treasurer and Secretary for the year just closed merit your careful attention. They evidence continued growth of the Society, and with it increased labor.

Through the courtesy of the Adjutant General, H. A. Axline, a room in the Capitol has been assigned to the Society in which to place its collections. This being a

fire-proof depository, is hence a *safe* place. The Secretary of the Society has had the room cleaned and kalsomined, and cases made and placed about the walls. Every part of the room is occupied. The inventory of the Secretary shows the property now on hand. It is a striking example of what can be done by persistent, watchful effort.

The largest donation for the year is that from the Commissioners of the Ohio Exhibit in the Centennial Exposition at Cincinnati. It was gained simply by the Secretary's watchfulness and persistence, and the willingness of the Commissioners to see the articles preserved for the benefit of the people.

Other donations are promised, and now that a safe depository is secured, it will not be long till the problem of larger quarters will present itself.

The bill introduced at this session of the General Assembly by Senator Charles Townsend, is the culmination of a movement that has been brought before us, and urged since the organization of the Society, but until this year we have not felt ready to carry out the plan. That it is a wise move, and one that will be of vast and far reaching benefits to Ohio, is self evident. The bill has the hearty endorsement of all those who have given the matter attention. Prominent persons, in all parts of the country, warmly encourage it. Its passage opens new avenues of work, affords a safe depository for all time, for all accumulations, and places the Society upon a permanent footing, enabling us to pursue our work, and thus reclaim to Ohio much that has been lost, and save much that will otherwise go elsewhere.

During the year the following members have died:

Dr. O. C. Farquhar, of Zanesville; Prof. Eli Tappan, of Gambier; Mrs. H. C. Ide, of Columbus; Hon. M. R. Waite, of Washington, D. C.

The work of the Society necessarily devolves largely on the Secretary. The increased work, owing to these

donations; fitting the room for occupancy, and placing the collections therein; the supervision of the publication and distribution of the *QUARTERLY*; the large correspondence necessary to such organizations demand not only *time* to do the work, but *ability* and *willingness* to make personal sacrifice, not easily obtained.

Should the proposed consolidation of the Society and the Library be effected, whoever serves in this capacity can be paid for the service, and the annual income from members' fees used to increase the size and value of the publication. Thus the members will gain by the move, and the usefulness of the Society be extended. It only remains for us to urge the members not only to continue their own membership, but also secure others, and by such means increase the growth, work, and usefulness of the Society. We should have *ONE THOUSAND* members in the Society, and we can have that number, and more, if each one will do a little.

F. C. SESSIONS.

S. S. RICKLY.

S. C. DERBY.

N. F. TOWNSEND.

W. E. MOORE.

Executive Committee.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

To F. C. SESSIONS, President of Ohio Archæological and Historical Society:

The growth of the Society, in all its interests, for the past year, has been gratifying. Despite the fact that my time from February until November was wholly occupied in the Ohio Centennial, the work in the Society has not been suffered to lag. When I could not give it personal attention, Mr. Ralph Reamer and Mr. John J. Janney, both of Columbus, were employed to perform the necessary detail work, and the Society was, hence, enabled to continue, without interruption, its labors. In your an-

nual address, read before the Society, Thursday evening, January 31st last, you outlined much of what had been done. This I do not need to repeat here. The publication of the *QUARTERLY* has been continued; the work of gathering specimens of archæology, and of articles illustrating our history, was pushed, especially during the continuance of the Centennial Celebrations at Marietta, April 7 and July 15, and also during the Centennial Expositions held at Cincinnati from July 4 to November 10, and at Columbus from September 4 to October 19.

The Expositions afforded an excellent opportunity to secure articles for the museum; both in the departments of history and archæology. Circular letters were sent to all who had loaned articles soliciting donations to the museum. The response in many instances was favorable, and the museum now contains many valuable specimens of archæology, and articles of historical interest, that otherwise would not have been gained.

The Commissioners having in charge the Ohio Exhibit at the Exposition at Cincinnati, had made to illustrate the archæology of Ohio, twenty-nine colored charts exhibiting the principal earth-works in the State, built by the race known as "Mound Builders." These were taken chiefly from the surveys made by Squier and Davis, Col. Charles Whittlesey and others, from the years 1840 to 1870. They are not, in all cases, accurate delineations, yet, in the main, they are correct, and being the only surveys, in many instances, of earth-works now practically obliterated, they are of great value. In addition to the charts two plaster casts, one of Fort Hill, in Highland county, and one of the Serpent Mound, in Adams county, were also donated.

I desire, if possible, during the coming year to do some field work in archæology. We have the refusal of several valuable mounds in Ohio, and do not need a large amount of money to perform the work. It seems a little strange if such institutions as the Peabody Museum can

raise by collection in the Eastern States, thousands of dollars annually to explore *Ohio antiquities*, that nothing can be raised in Ohio to preserve and investigate our own treasures. We are surely derelict in our duty to allow so good opportunities to pass unused. By little effort on the part of each member the result can easily be obtained. Agitation and energy on this point should not be suffered to rest until the end is reached.

Examination of the growth of other societies in America shows that Ohio has done as well or better than any other state in the Union dependent entirely on the work of individuals. In many States, especially in Wisconsin, the commonwealth has nobly assisted, and where such assistance is given the results are beyond all comparison. The growth of the Ohio Society has been the result of persistent effort on the part of those most interested, with no reward save that of the satisfaction of a duty faithfully performed. The times have also been auspicious. The Centennial Celebrations that have been held in Ohio during the last year have stimulated inquiry and interest in history, and a general awakening has been the result. We have seen something of the value of our history and felt a little the necessity of its preservation. All these things have conspired to our aid, and the growth of the Society is, hence, somewhat accounted for. Still, it develops on a few to do the labor. Unless some one persistently follows the work, it will not be done; and however much it may be needed the fact remains that upon some *one* will fall the weary details. Whether this can be continued without compensation is a question. I feel that I ought not abandon the effort now; and that until some one who is not only willing, but by actual trial proven competent I shall not relax my efforts. I hope each member will feel a personal interest in the Society and aid by simply increasing the membership. If this be done, the problem of future work and progress is solved.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1888.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1887.....	\$ 63 79
One hundred and seventy renewals at \$5.00.....	850 00
Seventy-five new members at \$5.00.....	375 00
Ten fees advanced for 1889 at \$5.00.....	50 00
Advance sales Knight's History of Ohio.....	100 30
Sales of School Programs for April 7th celebration.....	84 45
Sales of Games of History of Ohio in Cards.....	9 73
Sales of Quarterlies, miscellaneous numbers.....	130 00
Sales of Quarterlies through Marietta Centennial Committee, five hundred copies June Quarterly.....	300 00
Engraving in June Quarterly, Marietta Centennial Committee tee	162 50
Reprints in June Quarterly, Marietta Centennial Committee.	36 60
Reprints in other Quarterlies.....	28 92
Six subscriptions to Quarterly from Libraries at \$4.00....	24 00
Advertisements in Quarterly.....	31 00
Sale of old cases.....	15 00
	\$ 2,261 29

DISBURSEMENTS.

Postage	\$ 244 31
Clerk hire	146 80
Meetings, expense of travel and board of speakers, secretary, etc	71 05
Money returned account loss of MSS of Knight's History of Ohio.....	66 50
Games of History of Ohio, cards to supply orders for Knight's History	54 00
Printing March Quarterly, Volume 1, No. 4.....	145 53
Printing June Quarterly, Volume 2, No. 1.....	474 98
Printing September Quarterly, Volume 2, No. 2 (on account)	75 00
Binding 31 copies Volume 1, at 50c.....	15 50
Engraving, Volume 2, Nos. 1 and 2.....	236 95
Job Printing, miscellaneous	227 25
Job Printing, 15,000 School Programs for April 7, Express	109 49
Telegrams	7 30
Prof. Knight, editing June (1888) Quarterly....	9 21
Prof. Knight, editing September (1888) Quarterly,	25 00
Prof. Knight, expenses, postage, etc.....	25 00
Expense cleaning room in State House.....	9 26
Carpenter work on cases in room in State House (on account)	60 00
Janitor for room in State House.....	17 75
Secretary for services.....	15 75
Sundry supplies	200 00
	\$ 2,247 69
Cash on hand.....	13 60
	\$ 2,261 29

STOCK AND PLATES ON HAND.

February 19, 1889.

Plates of Volume 1, cost.....	\$ 182 10
Matrices of Volume 2, No. 1, cost.....	30 12
Matrices of Volume 2, No. 2, cost.....	11 52
Matrices of Volume 2, No. 3, cost.....	11 04
	\$ 234 78

S. S. RICKLY,
Treasurer.

NUMBER OF QUARTERLIES ON HAND.

February 19, 1889.

Volume 1, No. 1.....	5 copies
Volume 1, No. 2.....	None
Volume 1, No. 3.....	42 copies
Volume 1, No. 4.....	20 copies—67
Volume 2, No. 1.....	141 copies
Volume 2, No. 2.....	119 copies
Volume 2, No. 3.....	94 copies—354
(No. 4 of Vol. 2 in press.)	

The odd numbers of Volume two will be bound in the same style with Volume one—furnishing, as will be seen, about one hundred copies bound.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS* RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR
ENDING FEBRUARY 19, 1889.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Jewett, H. J., New York City.	Pocock, Dr. Eli D., Shreve.
Smythe, A. H., Columbus.	Hart, Dr. Frank O., West Unity.
Swayne, Wager, New York City.	

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Howe, Henry, Columbus.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Gilmore, Wm. E., Chillicothe.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Acheson, E. F., Washington, Pa.	Bartholomew, G. K., Cincinnati.
Andrews, Edw. L., Burton.	Barr, Baldwin, Cincinnati.
Au, John H., Ontario.	Bosworth, C. H., Cincinnati.
	Bruck, Philip, Columbus.
Baries, Geo. F., Canal Winchester	Butler, Theo. H., Columbus.

* The list of members shows the accessions only since February 19, 1888. The entire number of members enrolled since the beginning is 440.

- Caylor, E. H., Columbus.
 Clogston, Wm., Springfield, Mass.
 Cone, Rev. O., Akron.
 Conger, A. L., Akron.
 Cotton, Dr. D. B., Portsmouth.
 Curtis, S. H., Cleveland.
 Curry, John, San Francisco, Cal.
 Cutler, Miss Julia P., Marietta.
 Davie, Oliver, Columbus.
 Dawes, Mrs. S. C., Marietta.
 Enos, Miss H. M., Millersburg.
 Fairbanks, C. W., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Ford, George H., Burton.
 Fowke, Gerard, Columbus.
 Frame, C., Hunt's Falls.
 Garst, Rev. Henry, Westerville.
 Hancock, Prof. Jno., Chillicothe.
 Harter, George D., Canton.
 Hayden, Rev. H. C., Cleveland.
 Haynes, Henry W., Boston, Mass.
 Herrick, Dr. L. H., Columbus.
 Hills, D. B., Columbus.
 Hinman, E. L., Columbus.
 Holcomb, A. T., Portsmouth.
 Howe, Frank H., Columbus.
 Jennings, W. H., Columbus.
 Jewett, L. M., Athens.
 Johnson, C. W., Elyria.
 Kinney, Charles, Pomeroy.
 Knickerbocker, Dr. B., Columbus.
 Lane, T. P., Norwood.
 Leib, F. H., Millersport.
 Leslie, Dr. J. D., Chillicothe.
 Lewis, S. H., St. Paul, Minn.
 Luse, Dr. L. H., West Mentor.
 McCormick, A. W., Cincinnati.
 McCullough, J. H., Delaware.
 McFadden, H. H., Steubenville.
 McGettigan, J. E., Indianapolis.
 McKinley, James, Canton.
 McMillen, Emerson, Columbus.
 MacCoun, Townsend, N. Y. City.
 Maderia, J. D., Chillicothe.
 Meisse, Dr. B. F., Chillicothe.
 Meredith, Levi, Van Wert.
 Mikesell, Thomas, Wauseon.
 Mills, W. C., New Comerstown.
 Mills, Wm. W., Marietta.
 Morrison, W. J., Marietta.
 Morton, W. H., Cincinnati.
 Munson, Charles E., Columbus.
 Nelson, O. W., Newark.
 Nissley, J. R., Ada.
 Peyster, J. W., de, Tivoli, N. Y.
 Phillips, R. E., Marietta.
 Poland, William, Chillicothe.
 Putnam, Rufus, Chillicothe.
 Read, Prof. M. C., Hudson.
 Robertson, Andrew J., Sidney.
 Sample, F. C., Perrysville.
 Smith, Wm. Henry, N. Y. City.
 Smith, W. R., Hillsboro.
 Smith, Amos, Chillicothe.
 Stevenson, Job E., Cincinnati.
 Stull, John M., Warren.
 Taggart, Rush, New York City.
 Taggart, J. B., Lewis Center.
 Tyler, J. H., Napoleon.
 Van Horne, Rev. Thos., B., Columbus.
 Van Meter, S. R., Marietta.
 Watson, D. K., Columbus.
 Welch, Agnew, Ada.
 Wetmore, P. M., Columbus.
 Wilttheis, C. T., Piqua.
 Wood, James A., Chillicothe.

LIBRARIES.

- Case Library, Cleveland.
 Public Library, Cincinnati.
 State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.
 State Library, Columbus.
 Newberry Library, Chicago.
 The Chicago Library, Chicago.
 State Library, Lincoln, Neb.
 State University, Athens.
 State University, Columbus.
 Harvard Univ. Lib., Cambridge.
 Public Library, Detroit.
 Public Library, Columbus.
 Public Library, Boston.
 Public Library Toledo.
 College Library, Gambier.
 Free Public Library, Worcester.
 Jno. Hopkins Univ., Baltimore.

ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY.

THROUGH the courtesy of Adjutant General H. A. Axline a room on the third floor, east side of the State House has been assigned to the Society. Though somewhat out of the way, and not well lighted, still it is all that can be had now. In order to utilize it to the best possible advantage, I have had cases placed along the west end and south side, without partitions, and with glass doors. By such an arrangement all light entering the room from a large window on the north is saved. Above the cases and along the east side I have arranged the twenty-nine framed colored charts donated to the Society by the Commissioners in charge of the Ohio exhibit at the Centennial Exposition at Cincinnati. On the west end are two large paintings: one representing the landing of Major Putnam's party at the mouth of the Muskingum, April 7, 1788; the other represents Rev. John Finley preaching his first sermon to the Wyandot Indians, Jonathan Pointer (a Negro) interpreting, at the Upper Sandusky Mission, 1819. A third painting represents the first hotel in Auglaize county, Ohio, built on the bank of the Auglaize River, at Smith's Ferry, in 1834. A typical Indian head made of colored flint, arrow and lance points, and knives, is also here. It is the work of Dr. Eli D. Pocock, of Shreve, Ohio. The twenty-nine charts referred to represent every type of Ohio earth-works. In one of the floor cases are two casts, one representing Fort Hill in Highland county; one the Serpent Mound in Adams county.

On the north side hang two commissions (framed), one signed by Arthur St. Clair when Governor of the Northwest Territory, and by Winthrop Sargent, Secretary, dated the 2d of August, 1787. The other, signed by Return Jonathan Meigs, Governor of Ohio, is dated May 7, 1812. Each is a military commission issued to Dr. Nathan Goodale, a prominent resident of Columbus. Above these hangs a copy of the framed testimonial given by the Society to the Board of Trade of Chillicothe, commemorative of the visit of the Society to that place in connection with the last annual meeting. Underneath that is an old piano used in Gen. Washington's family.

Near these is a large framed chart of most excellent pen-work commemorative of the Department of the Woman's

Relief Corps of Ohio. Also a crayon drawing, representing the log school-house in Black Run township, Muskingum county, where James A. Garfield taught school in 1851. The drawing is by Howard Christy, a boy sixteen years of age, and is, for his age and training, an excellent piece of work. It was obtained for the Society by C. Frame, Esq., of Duncan's Falls, Ohio.

On the wall is a birch bark Indian canoe, obtained by Gen. W. D. Hamilton, of Columbus, Commissioner in charge of the Department of Commerce and Transportation in the Ohio Centennial at Columbus, from Dr. Charles E. Stroud, Sandusky, Ohio, who in turn obtained it from an Indian woman in the Michigan Peninsula.

Elm bark canoe, made by John Curry, Esq., of New California, Jerome township, Union county, and placed on exhibition in Union county's exhibit at the Ohio Centennial. Donated at its close to the Society, and now kept in the Exposition Building on the fair grounds. Also a pack saddle, made and used in 1788, given by Austin True, of Trumbull, Athens county.

A synopsis of the articles in the cases shows the following general assortment. In addition to these articles, there are many in the State Relic Room belonging to the Society; these include many military articles. It is the policy to classify all articles, and we hope to see the State Relic Room made a *State Military Museum*, a policy I am glad to say is favorable to those now in charge.

ARCHÆOLOGY.	NUMBER
Grooved Hammers	29.
Grooved Axes	91.
Unfinished Axes showing method of manufacture	9.
Celts	132.
Rollers or round pestles	17.
Pestles or Nut Crackers	29.
Pipes of all kinds	45.
Slate Ornaments, Totems, Utensils, etc.	118.
Copper Axes	2.
Copper Beads	1.
Stone Beads	10.
Skulls	6.
Mound Pottery	15.
Flint, embracing Cores, unfinished etc., showing method of manufacture	121.

Arrow Points, small	81.
Indian Head made of flint	1.
Framed Charts	29.
Casts	2.
Flint pieces, including, Scrapers, Drills, Knives, Lance Points, etc.	1010.
Miscellaneous Articles	150.

INDIAN IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Iron Tomahawks	12
Pottery of all kinds	29.
Implements and Ornaments	23.
Miscellaneous Pieces	75.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Serpent Mound series	30.
Mound Builders' Articles	11.
Mexico, Pueblo, and Zuni scenes ¹	12.
Pottery and Utensils	10.
Marietta Flood of 1884	10.

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

Books, donated	300.
Exchanges, Magazines, Periodicals, Papers, etc.	45.
Pamphlets, donated	150.
Old Letters and Documents	110.
Miscellaneous Articles	80.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Old Clocks	3.
Old Books	20.
Piano	1.
Commissions, framed	2.
Domestic Articles	40.
Mastodon Teeth	2.
Miscellaneous articles, illustrating domestic life in Ohio	30.

All articles have been donated, and hence show better than words can express what can and will be done for the Museum and Library if a safe place for keeping be secured, and a permanent policy be established

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

¹ From Major J. W. Powell, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF OHIO. In two volumes.

Illustrated by about 500 engravings, contrasting the Ohio of 1846 with 1886-88; from drawings by the author in 1846 and photographs taken in 1886, 1887 and 1888 of cities and chief towns, public buildings, historic localities, monuments, curiosities, antiquities, portraits, maps, etc. By HENRY HOWE, author of "Historical Collections of Virginia," and other works. Columbus: Henry Howe & Son, 1889.

The following communication upon this work and its author will interest everyone.

"Tacitus wrote a history of the Romans, Josephus of the Jews, Macaulay of the English; but how little, after all, do we learn from their writings about the people of whom they wrote. They have given us grand processions of kings, queens, emperors and generals, but little or nothing of the vast area of underlying life of which these crowned and bedizened puppets were the outgrowth. A lord may be created in an hour, and then may not be worth the labor expended in his creation. A king may owe his crown and kingdom to the accident of birth, or the favor of fortune; but a great people is the product of centuries of careful nursing, discipline and cultivation.

What the readers of this age want to know is how this great people lived, and for what they lived. This Henry Howe in his Historical Collections tells us with respect to the people of Ohio. He puts us face to face with the founders, builders and beautifiers of a commonwealth; with the sturdy fighters against adversity, the rugged subduers of wild men and wild beasts, the hardy pioneers, who in less than half a century converted a wilderness into a fruitful garden.

The material for the pioneer portion of his history Mr. Howe gathered when he was a young man of thirty, as he traveled from county to county on the back of "Old Pomp," a slow-going, old white horse.

It was on that now famed historic tour he saw our fathers and grandfathers, and in his genial and laughing way swapped jokes with them, thus ascertaining just what manner of folk they were, and what good stories of

a local flavor they had to tell. It was at this time he met Corwin, Ewing, Wade, Giddings, and the men of their day and generation.

Afer completing his first grand tour of the State, and putting the things he had gathered in a book, he fell into a Rip Van Winkle sleep, and after forty years or more awoke again, stretched himself, shed a sympathetic and regretful tear for the long departed "Old Pomp," and as a gray-haired, but still jovial and young-hearted man traveled over the old route again to see what changes had taken place while he slumbered. There were many. He tells us how many and just what they were. Columbus, which he first saw as a scattering village of a few thousand souls, had grown to be a prosperous and wealthy city. Cleveland and Cincinnati had made even greater strides toward metropolitan proportions. Toledo, Dayton, Springfield and many other towns had cast aside the dull monotony of ordinary county seats, and assumed the rush and fury of great manufacturing and commercial centers. He tells us by words and pictures how these towns appeared to him in the old time, and how they look at present. He describes other changes also. The Bebbs, Medills, Shannons, Tods and Broughs are gone; but bare-footed boys struggling with pot hooks and the multiplication table when these men were prominent, have pushed forward to fill the places they had filled. He heard no words of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hayes and Garfield in the old time; some of them indeed he met; but as almost beardless youngsters that nobody ever heard of or wanted to look at a second time. Now he finds their names on every tongue, and their fame covering the continent.

In his wanderings to and fro across the State, this genial old historian stops at Georgetown, and talks and laughs with those who knew 'Lyss Grant when he ground bark in the old tanyard, and then he takes a picture of the house in which he went to school. Going on to Lancaster he finds out whether Cump Sherman was much of a flanker when a boy, and whether he got around the girls at spelling-schools and apple-paring bees by cutting in ahead of them, when they were looking to see the enemy approach from some other direction. And so in time he visits the identical neighborhood on the Muskingum where Jim Garfield taught the country lads and lassies how to read, write and cypher; and he takes pleasure even in find-

ing the precise spot on which the old pioneer school-house stood. In short, Henry Howe has done for Ohio what Boswell did for Johnson: he has told us precisely the things we wanted to know.

But in addition to all Mr. Henry Howe has himself written, he presents in his history of Ohio a number of able articles by other men, worth more to the reader than the price of the book. Frank Henry Howe, the historian's son, gives us a General Description of Ohio; Prof. Orton writes on the Geography and Geology of the State; Prof. G. Frederick Wright, on the Glacial Man; Prof. Norton S. Townshend, History of Agriculture in Ohio; Hon. Andrew Roy, Mines and Mining Resources of Ohio; Col. Charles Whittlesey, Pioneer Engineers of Ohio; Civil Jurisdiction in Ohio, and Sources of Ohio's Strength; Prof. G. W. Knight, Educational Progress in Ohio; J. Q. Howard, Historical Men of Ohio; Prof. M. C. Read, Ohio's Work in the Sanitary Commission; Hon. Wm. M. Farrar, Ohio: The Buckeye State.

In brief, "Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio," next to the Bible and Noah Webster, should find a place under every Ohioan's roof-tree, and when—let us hope a thousand years hence—this kind-hearted and youthful old historian has been gathered to his fathers, full of years and of honors, our sons and grandsons should recognize his descendants as the hereditary historians of the State, greet them cordially and reward them liberally.

Columbus, March 20, 1889.

JOHN BEATTY.

THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF ORASMUS H. MARSHALL relating to the early history of the West. Paper covers, uncut edges, five hundred pages, one volume. Joel Munsell Sons, Albany, N. Y., 1887.

Mr. Marshall was a prominent and prosperous business man of Buffalo, New York, who, despite the exactions of a large business found much time for historical research. He was one of the chief promoters of the Buffalo Historical Society, and read before that and other bodies, many valuable papers bearing on the early history of the country. He was well acquainted with many educated Seneca Indians, and through them, and also through Canadian French, who were tintured with Indian blood, he learned many obscure facts throwing no little light upon our early annals. The book referred to con-

tains the following chapters, which sufficiently attest its value and evidence its usefulness:

1. A short sketch of the Indian Tribes which dwelt on the borders of the Great Lakes.
2. Champlain's expedition against the Onondagas in 1615.
3. Reply to Dr. Shea and General Clark.
4. Champlain's Astrolabe.
5. The building and the voyage of the Griffin in 1679.
6. Expedition of the Marquis De Nonville against the Senecas in 1687.
7. LaSalle's first visit to the Niagara frontier in 1669.
8. DeCeloron's Expedition to the Ohio in 1749.
9. Historical Sketches of the Niagara Frontier.
10. History of the New York Charter, 1664-74.
11. Early notices of the Copper regions.
12. Index Review.

JOURNALS OF MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS. Maps. Paper covers. 296 Pages. Joel Munsell Sons.

Introductory notes by Franklin B. Hough. This work contains an account of excursions made by Rogers during the late war (French and Indian war 1755-60) on the "Continent of North America." The appendix contains documents and papers relating to Rogers while commander of the Post at "Michilimackinack" in 1767, and also his conduct in the Revolutionary war. The work contains many items of value to the student of history.

"THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY," by William Henry Perrin, Louisville, Kentucky. The Filson Club Publications, No. 3.

This monograph was prepared for and read before the August meeting, 1887, of the Filson Club. The preface states the object of the monograph, or rather perhaps what called it forth.

"The 11th day of August, 1887," writes Mr. Thomas Speed, the Secretary, in the preface, "closed the first hundred years from the establishing of a printing press and the issuing of a newspaper in Kentucky. This event having been deemed worthy of commemoration by the Filson Club, one of its members, William Henry Perrin, was requested to prepare and read to the Club a sketch of the pioneer press of the State."

In the course of his narrative Mr. Perrin states that

"the first newspaper west of the Allegheny mountains was established in Kentucky one hundred years ago. Its origin was mainly due to a political necessity. Kentucky then formed a county of Virginia, and the people were earnestly debating the propriety of separating from the parent State and setting up an independent government. To accomplish this a convention had been held at Danville, the Territorial Capital as it might be called. A second convention assembled in 1785, at the same place and for the same purpose, which, during its sitting, adopted the following resolution:

"That to insure unanimity in the opinion of the people respecting the propriety of separating the district of Kentucky from Virginia, and forming a separate State government, and to give publicity to the proceedings of the convention, it is deemed advisable to have a printing press."

A committee was appointed to carry into effect the resolution, but it was two years before it could be carried out. John Bradford had come to Kentucky, and becoming interested in the matter, was induced to attempt the enterprise. He proposed to establish the paper if he was guaranteed the public patronage. The offer was accepted, and at Lexington, then the most important point in this part of the west, two lots were given Mr. Bradford by the town trustees in July, 1786. This offer was accepted by the printer, and was the means of establishing the paper there in place of Danville, then the capital of the county, or district of Kentucky.

Mr. Bradford went by horseback, afoot and by canoe to Philadelphia, obtained his material and a press, which in turn came westward by much the same manner as the purchaser, and in Lexington on the 11th day of August, 1787, the first number of the "Kentucky Gazette" was given to the Blue-grass pioneers. "It was," says Mr. Perrin, "a small, unpretentious sheet, scarcely as large as a half sheet of foolscap paper. Its contents comprised two short, original articles, one advertisement, and the following note:

"My customers will excuse this my first publication, as I am much hurried to get an impression by the time appointed. A great part of the types fell into pi in the carriage of them from Limestone (Maysville) to this

office, and my partner, which is the only assistant I have, through an indisposition of the body, has been incapable of rendering the smallest assistance for ten days past.”

The building in which this pioneer western paper was issued was a small, rude, log cabin, one story high, covered with clapboards. The press was an old fashioned hand press, on which from fifty to seventy-five sheets an hour could be printed. The “Editor’s chair” was a three legged stool, and his lamp a buffalo tallow or bear fat “dip.”

The advertisements are quaint, and illustrate life in that period. Gun flints, knée buckles, buckskin breeches, hair powder, saddle-bag locks are advertised for sale. In one early issue those persons “who subscribed to the frame meeting house” are notified that they “can pay in *cattle* or *whisky*.” Another early issue notes the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, “just framed by a convention now in session.” Notice afterward appears that “a company will meet at Crab Orchard next Monday for an early start through the wilderness; most of the delegates to the State convention at Richmond (to adopt the Constitution) will go with them.”

Local matter is almost wholly ignored in all journals of that period. Heavy editorials hurled at political antagonists constantly appear, while foreign news, six months and longer old, form important parts.

There was not another paper in five hundred miles, and when it was delivered to the settlements, some one who could read well, would, copy in hand, mount a stump and read the entire contents, advertisements, editorials and all, to the crowd about him.

It is impossible in this place to go longer into details regarding this paper. The Filson Club is doing an invaluable work by rescuing from oblivion such incidents and events in our history, and it is to be hoped the members will find sufficient encouragement in the good work before them to continue long therein.

THE TORY’S DAUGHTER. A romance of the Northwest. 1812-1813. By A. G. Riddle. G. P. Putnam’s Sons, New York.

“The Tory’s Daughter,” the scene of which is for the most part laid in Northwestern Ohio, Detroit, and the points of General Harrison’s operations in the war of 1812,

is new departure for the pen of the romance writer. This story is a historical novel, following the fortunes of the contestants on both sides during our last war with Great Britain.

Tecumseh, Proctor, Harrison, Brock, Barclay, and other historical characters are so presented that the reader may obtain a very clear view of them. That part of their career which falls outside the limits of the novel is sketched in a supplemental chapter. With the great Indian chief the author becomes more deeply interested than any of the others, his nobility of character made more brilliant in contrast with his life, impressing him very strongly. The shameful treatment of Tecumseh, as an ally, by the British, their utter failure to understand his character and motives, furnish the writer with much matter for reflection. Tecumseh's part in the war and the exact manner of his death at the battle of the Thames are fully detailed.

LIFE OF BENJAMIN WADE. By A. G. RIDDLE. W. W. Williams, Cleveland, publisher.

This excellent biography of one conspicuous, not only in Ohio's history, jurisprudence and politics, and also in the nation's political life, is written by one who knew him intimately, and who is, hence, well prepared. The book not only deals in much of Mr. Wade's history, but also sketches those events, both State and National, that conspired to bring his qualities forward. It is an timely contribution to our history.

THE SPOTSWOOD LETTERS. *Two volumes.* The Virginia Historical Society Publications.

These volumes contain the official letters of Alexander Spotswood, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia 1710-1723. The manuscript is among the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. Volume one contains an excellent portrait of Governor Spotswood. The introduction was written by Dr. R. A. Brock, the secretary and librarian of the Society. The preface states a fact concerning the preservation of these manuscripts, students of history will appreciate. The manuscript was owned by John R. Spotswood, of Orange county, Virginia, who loaned it to George W. Featherstonehaugh, an author and geologist, who carried it to England. There for many

years it lay in obscurity. It became the object of repeatedly expressed solicitude on the part of American authors, among them the venerable George Bancroft, who had used it when preparing his history, and who knew its value. After the death of Mr. Featherstonehaugh, renewed search found it in possession of his widow, from whom it was obtained by the Virginia Historical Society, and by it returned to America.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS. Volume XV
—1887.

"Paroles of the Army of Northern Virginia, R. E. Lee, C. S. A. commanding. Surrendered at Appomattox C. H., Virginia, April 9, 1865, to Lieut. General U. S. Grant, commanding armies of the United States."

Now first printed from the duplicate originals in the archives of the Southern Historical Society. The paroles were given by Gen. R. E. Lee to Robert Ould, Commissioner of Exchange, by whom they were given to the Southern Historical Society, which body printed them. They constitute a valuable addition to the history of the late war.

COLLECTIONS OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
New series number one. Letters of Thomas Nelson, Jr., Governor of Virginia.

This publication contains the letters relating to the siege of Yorktown, the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the naval and the military movements which resulted in that decisive triumph of the Continental army.

The last edition of this Society's *Quarterly* contains letters of Governor Nelson never before published. Others are also now in the rooms of the Society to be published when space permits.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS, Etc.

In the December issue several letters and documents were printed from original copies. Since then I have obtained from Mr. H. K. Swaringen, of Circleville, a large number of others. It was the intention to print some of these in this issue, but already it is larger than usual, hence the publication of these documents and letters will be deferred until June.

A. A. GRAHAM.

PERIODICALS.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE, January, February and March, 1889.

This leading periodical maintains its excellent tone. The chief articles of interest to readers of this quarterly are those of Mr. Kennan on "The Russian Exile System," "The Suffrage Question," by Rev. Washington Gladden, and the novel, "The Romance of Dollard." To one who has read Francis Parkman's delightful historical works, this novel will have an additional charm. It portrays in vivid colors much of the daily life in the "New France," of 1680 to 1750. The scenery is accurately described, while the characters are well drawn. It gives a better idea of life in the early French Colonies than any other work and is well worth a careful perusal by the student of history.

The great narratives, Mr. George Kennan's "Siberian Travels," and the "Life of Abraham Lincoln," are marked examples of what mighty agencies for the presentation of history a monthly periodical such as the *Century* can be. Many of the members of this Society recall with vivid distinctness the scenes now portrayed in the life of Mr. Lincoln. The light thrown upon the Nation's history by the publication of this work, will enable the present and future student of history such a right-ful comprehension of our Nation's affairs that could not have been obtained elsewhere.

The same may be said of the narrative of "Russian Life" now presented by Mr. George Kennan, through the same periodical. It seems the only way to gain a correct knowledge of human affairs, and while exacting, almost to the loss of the body, yet a light is shed that will not be permitted by the civilized world to be extinguished.

THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN SUPPLEMENT. Vol. XXVII. Munn & Co. New York City.

Though devoted chiefly to engineering, mechanical, and scientific matters, this excellent weekly notes many others bearing on any branch of science. In the issue of January 26 last, a lengthy article, describing the explorations of Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon in Yucatan is printed. It vividly narrates the trials which the archæologist must endure when exploring strange, semi-civilized or barbarous countries. Dr. Le Plongeon still lives in Brooklyn, New York, surrounded by many evidences of his explorations. Great if not equal credit must also be awarded his faithful wife, Alice Le Plongeon, who, in his most extensive tour, was his constant companion, helper, and adviser. Brave and cautious, thoroughly in sympathy with her husband, she at all times stood by him, and together they made discoveries which can never be over-estimated. The article is too long for reproduction in the *QUARTERLY*. It should be read by all students of archæology.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN. Volumes IX and X. Rev. Stephen D. Peet, Mendon, Illinois, Editor.

Space forbids an examination of the contents of these valuable volumes. As the name indicates, the "*Antiquarian*" treats chiefly of archæological questions, though many others are well handled in its pages. In addition to the editor, are such writers in volume I as Dr. D. G. Brinton, Prof. John Avery, T. H. Lewis, Henry Phillips, Jr., E. M. Hale, M. D., William Tucker, Prof. J. D. Butler, LL. D.; in volume II, Thomas Wilson, H. H. Bancroft, Franz Boaz, James Deans,

Thomas J. Brown, Rev. M. Eells, Alfred Gatschet, Washington Matthews, Augustus Le Plongeon, M. D., and others, evidence a wide variety of subject matter, of much interest to those devoted to antiquarian research.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, New York City. For January, February and March, 1889. Edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, New York City.

This excellent historical periodical maintains its high standing by publishing the best of material. Mrs. Lamb in the January number continues her treatment of "Historic American Homes." Gen. C. M. Wilcox describes the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence;" William L. Scruggs, the "Revolutions of Spanish America;" George H. Moore, the "First Theater in America;" Isaac Hammond, "Slavery in New Hampshire," etc.

The February number is the "Washington Number," being devoted largely to Gen. Washington and history contemporaneous with his life.

In the March number, the writers are Mrs. Lamb, Rev. William Barrows, J. G. Rosengarden, Alfred E. Lee, Annie E. Wilson, and Martin L. Delafield. Each number contains full "notes and queries," "historic and social jottings," etc.

MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. Cleveland. W. W. Williams, publisher. J. H. Kennedy, editor. January and March, 1889.

The leading articles in these two issues of this monthly are: "The Western Library Association," by Judge John Welch. "Two Noted Pioneers of the West," by Lida Rosa McCabe. "Our Highest Territorial Court and Judges," by Isaac Smucker. "The Origin, Purpose and Growth of the Prohibition Party," by George L. Case. "The American Railroad: Its Inception, Evolution and Results," by J. H. Kennedy. "Owen Brown's Escape from Harper's Ferry," by S. A. Willson. "The Kansas State Historical Society and its Founders," by W. W. Admire. There are many more valuable papers in these issues. The monthly, as its name implies, is devoted largely to Western history.

JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE. Issued quarterly by the American Folk-Lore Society. W. W. Newell, general editor. Cambridge, Mass. Vol. III. 1888.

As the name of this journal indicates, it is chiefly confined to printing articles on folk-lore and mythology of the American Continent. In it are found such articles as "Ondaga Tales and Customs," "Birds in Folk-Lore and Myth," "Chinook Songs," "Lenape Conversations," "Early History and Myths of the Cherokees," "Child Life Among Omaha Indians," "Folk-Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans," etc., etc. These are by such writers as Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Miss Alice Fletcher, T. F. Crane, J. O. Dorsey, Franz Boaz, and others whose names sufficiently index the value of the article.

THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST. Published quarterly by the Anthropological Society of Washington.

This quarterly is published in the interest of anthropological science. The Society which it represents seeks the coöperation of all those interested in the advancement of this study. The following articles from volume I show somewhat the scope of the journal: "The Law of Malthus," Dr. I. C. Welling; "The Development of Time Keeping in

Greece and Rome," F. A. Seeley; "From Barbarism to Civilization," Major J. W. Powell; "the Prayer of a Navajo Shaman," Dr. Washington Matthews; "Curious Customs and Strange Freaks of the Mound Builders," Prof. Cyrus Thomas.

REPORTS. The twenty-second report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum, Volume IV, No. 2.

The reports, after noting the detail work in the museum for the year, give a general yet concise review of the work done. Through all this work can be seen the hand of the curator, Prof. F. W. Putnam. The annual expenditures in the museum are a little over ten thousand dollars. The endowments amount to \$134,301.55, divided as follows: Building Fund, \$43,819.30; Professorship Fund, \$45,241.13; Museum Fund, \$45,241.12. Each fund is kept separate, and each performs a specified duty. This museum, as is generally known, now owns the Serpent Mound in Adams county, Ohio. It was purchased through the liberality, largely, of the ladies of Boston and vicinity, who raised the necessary funds, placed the same in Prof. Putnam's hands, and thus enabled him to carry out a long cherished idea, to own this valuable, unique, and wonderful relic of pre-historic times. It is not gratifying to our State pride to thus see our most valued archæological possessions pass out of our own control; but if it is to be so, no better institution than the Peabody Museum can be found to care for and protect it. Prof. Putnam has raised large sums of money in the East with which to explore Ohio earth-works. Scarce anything can be done in our own State, it seems, and we must, until public interest is aroused, see outsiders enter our own borders, and enrich their already valuable museums from our own fields. Prof. Putnam's reports show what has been done, and they should stimulate Ohio people to action and to a realization of their own interest.

MISCELLANIES. Part I and II. Compiled by J. Watts de Peyster, of New York City.

These comprise original letters "from 1774 to 1813 of Col. de Peyster, Brig.-Gen. Sir John Johnson, Bart., Col. Guy Johnson, and others from 1776 to 1813, never before published;" also "Discovery of the De Peyster Islands in the Pacific Ocean," and "Biographical sketches of the De Peyster, Watts and other affiliated families."

ANNALS OF THE EARLY SETTLERS ASSOCIATION, of Cuyahoga county, Ohio. Number IX.

This Association, one of the most active of its kind in the West, publishes annually a pamphlet containing full accounts of its purposes, the addresses at its meetings, etc. This number is devoted largely to a full account of the unveiling and dedicatory services connected with placing the monument, a bronze statue, seven feet high, of Gen. Moses Cleaveland, the founder of the city which now perpetuates his name. Gen. Cleaveland was sent out by the Connecticut Land Company, which owned, by purchase, the Western Reserve, in the spring of 1796. July 22 of that year he landed at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and there laid out a town his associates named for himself. An article in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*, by Prof. Hinsdale, gives a full history of the purchase of the Reserve.

